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SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

November-December 1951

HOW TECHNOLOGY CHANGES SOCIETY

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Ours is called the machine age. It might well be called the age of science too, for machines are one of the products of science. But science does not exist alone and isolated from the rest of our culture. The conditions of our social life help to develop science and science in turn modifies our social life. It is this impact of science upon society that is the subject of this paper.

That science has an impact on society is illustrated by the influences flowing from the discovery that the nucleus of the atom in heavy elements like uranium may be split and great quantities of energy thereby released. Three different uses of this discovery have already been recognized. One is its use as an explosive. Another is the use of radiating particles as tracers in medicine and in industry. A third is its use (in prospect) in power plants for industry, for heating and lighting communities, and for propelling ships, submarines, and airplanes. No doubt many other kinds of uses will be forthcoming for this new scientific discovery.

The impact of science on society is not restricted to its uses. There are social effects which derive from uses. We have had the atomic bomb only a very short while—not quite six years—but long enough to see some of its social effects. For instance, it has brought war with increasing intensity to civilian populations who were, in centuries past, protected from the ravages of war except in the case of actual invasion. The threat of atomic bombs is stimulating the efforts of the civilian population to escape bombing, particularly through the deconcentration of urban industry and the moving of urban population outward from the center of great cities.

The atomic bomb has had an influence on the ranking of the great powers, and among the world states the differential between the large powers and the small powers has been greatly increased because of this terrible explosive. The whole world has become much more internationally minded. We think also that the search for a means of preventing war

will probably be augmented, although this effort may be in a temporary recession. The present struggle between the democratic and the communistic powers may be viewed, however, as a somewhat powerful and dangerous effort to maintain the peace, though we call it a "cold war." The atomic bomb will probably also have the effect of creating and strengthening world international organizations of different kinds, and it is increasing international cooperation over large areas of the world.

These illustrations of the impact of the atom bomb upon society are largely in the future because of the recency of this invention. We know much more about the social effects of some earlier inventions, as, for instance, the automobile, which has been with us for nearly half a century. Its influence has been especially noticeable in the United States, where there is one automobile, on the average, for every family. Society in the United States is different now from what it was in the beginning of the century before the coming of the automobile. A few of its influences on different social customs and institutions in the United States will be listed without describing or explaining them.

The railroads early felt the influence of the automobile, particularly in short-haul traffic; the tracks were abandoned and sometimes removed and later, because of the autotruck, the effect was felt in the hauling of light freight. The automobile also influences the distribution of economic products, store deliveries, marketing, the increase in chain stores, the consumption of oil, the construction of roads, and the mechanization and commercialization of farming.

The automobile had a profound effect upon urban transportation and the scattering outward of urban residences, thus increasing greatly the growth of suburbs and the location of satellite towns along highways and the "ribbon" development of rural and suburban life. It has also influenced the dispersal of factories and of trading centers, as well as the creation of "blighted" areas in cities, and hence it has had effects upon urban real estate activities and urban planning.

The automobile facilitated government administration and centralization, brought new sources of taxation, added a new system of courts to the judicial machinery, increased the duties of the municipal and state police, and furnished a new means for apprehending criminals. On the other hand, the automobile aided the escape of criminals, strengthened the organization of crime for business, became a new source of thefts, and encouraged juvenile delinquency.

Its influence upon the family is said to have made the rearing of adolescents somewhat more difficult, to have taken women somewhat more

from home activities, to have reduced the employment of domestic servants, to have changed the locale of courtship among the young from the home to the vehicle, to have encouraged family recreation by trips on Sundays, week ends, and holidays, and, by virtue of the development of commuting, to have kept the father away from his family; to have caused more meals to be eaten away from home, especially lunches, and to have modified the nature of hotel business.

Influencing education, the automobile has changed the location of schools, has helped to create the large consolidated rural school, has abolished the small one-room schoolhouse, has brought secondary education to rural youth, and has necessitated the vehicular transportation of children from home to school.

In the practice of medicine it has increased the use of hospitals, changed the area of practice in rural regions, and has increased the number of accidents.

Recreation has been changed by the automobile, particularly vacationing on week ends to mountains and seacoast recreation centers. Recreation by automobile has increased the use of national parks, brought a seasonal migration in winter and summer to southern and northern resorts, and has not only increased tourism in general but has also stimulated outdoor recreation.

These few illustrations indicate how the habits and customs of the people are different because of the coming of the automobile. Nuclear fission and the automobile are only two of thousands of new important inventions and scientific discoveries which are changing society. While these serve as illustrations, it is now desirable to present something of the processes whereby science changes society.

I

We first note that these social effects derive originally from science. Science is an accumulation of knowledge which grows by the addition of new increments originating in discoveries which in modern times are the result of scientific research. The impact of these new increments of knowledge upon society is through their use. Many discoveries of science, particularly in what we call "pure science," have no social use, at least at the time they are made. But there are discoveries in what is called "applied" science which have direct uses; and the discoveries of pure science often develop into applied sciences. The application of science usually requires new and different formulations from the original discoveries in the field of pure science; thus radio, television, and X-ray

photography are the result of the application of discoveries originally made in pure science without any idea of their practical use. Sometimes, though, the impact of a discovery in pure science has a social effect without the creation of any new form. For example, the discovery of the evolution of the species through natural selection had a revolutionary effect upon religion.

Applications of discoveries in pure physical science occur generally in the form of mechanical inventions. The knowledge of these inventions is called technology, including all mechanical inventions generally found in industrial arts. *Technology* is a modern term. In earlier cultures and among primitive peoples the inventions, tools, and useful material objects were described by the term *material culture*, which denoted the knowledge of creating and using any material object. Hence we use interchangeably the terms *science*, *technology*, *invention*, and *material culture*, although, on occasion, there is need for making distinctions between them. There are also innovations in the social field, as, for instance, the public opinion poll, which is a social invention having social effects. The organization of the United Nations is also a social invention which is having a profound effect upon the whole world.

In the immediately preceding paragraphs we have discussed the concepts of science, technology, and allied terms. We shall now delineate the processes whereby science and technology exert their influence upon society.

II

We note first that an invention or discovery of a new element of significance often has more than one kind of social effect. For instance, some one hundred and fifty different social effects of radio broadcasting have been noted.¹ Thus radio waves permit point-to-point telephone conversation and the broadcasting of a variety of materials, they guide ships into port and are used therapeutically in medicine, and they are also used to locate moving airplanes in wartime. These varied social effects of an invention run out in different directions like the spokes of a wheel radiating from the hub.

III

The social effects of an invention also succeed one another like the links of a chain. The first of these effects is called the direct effect of

¹ President's Research Committee, *Recent Social Trends* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933), Chap. III, pp. 153-56.

the invention and usually is its use or is closely associated with its use. Thus the steam engine had the direct effect of creating factories, which house engines and machines that are too large to be accommodated in a dwelling. This is a direct effect of the invention of the steam engine and follows shortly after the making of the invention.

But the effect of the steam engine does not stop with the creation of the factories, though some writers and speakers seem to think the effect of an invention stops with its use. The factory now manufactures objects, as for instance thread and cloth, which were formerly made by hand in the family dwelling. Thus an effect of the steam engine is to transfer manufacturing from the home to the factory. This effect is derived from its use in factories, and we speak of it as a derivative influence. Though this derivative influence is once removed from the invention of the steam engine, it is nonetheless real.

The influence of an invention does not necessarily stop after the initial derivative influence is achieved. There may be succeeding derivative influences. For instance, the removal of spinning and weaving from the home is followed by the employment of women in factories outside the home. This employment of women away from home is a second derivative influence. Nor does the influence of the steam engine stop at this point. The employment of women away from the home lessens the authority of the husband, as head of the household, over his wife. This is a third derivative influence. This decline in authority takes place rather slowly. Still another derivative influence of the steam engine is the increase in separations and divorces of married couples, for the employment of women outside the home and the lessening of the husband's authority make it easier for women to break away from the home and support themselves, independent of their husbands.

The derivative influences of an invention succeed one another somewhat as does the expenditure of force in a game of billiards. The original impact in the game comes from the billiard cue in the hands of the player, the force of which is imparted to one of the balls which strikes another and sets it in motion. This, in turn, strikes still another, thus imparting its motion successively to the other balls on the table. The impact of science upon society is probably much more extensive in these derivative effects than it is in the immediate uses of the invention. The derivative influences of the airplane are felt in the range of international affairs, the administration of foreign offices in distant lands, the organization of military forces, the role of the navy in a seapower, tourism and the nature of vacations, the establishment of businesses in foreign lands, etc.

IV

We have been speaking of individual discoveries and inventions. Since there are many of these and relatively few social institutions and customs, a single institution may be affected by a variety of inventions whose influences converge upon it. For instance, the influences of several inventions converge to increase the growth of suburbs on the outskirts of large cities. These inventions are the steam railway, the electric railway, the Diesel engine, the private automobile, the autobus, the pavement of highways, the telephone, the radio, the motion picture, and the chain store. When several inventions join their influences upon a single point of attack the prediction of this social change may be reasonably certain.

In previous paragraphs we have shown that each of the effects of a single invention, radiating outward as from a wheel, forms a succession of derivative influences, following one another like the links of a chain. To this linkage of successive effects is connected the phenomenon of convergence. This connection means that the influences on any one link in the chain of successive derivative effects come not just from the preceding link, but from forces set in motion by still other inventions and discoveries. Thus the divorce rate is influenced not only by the decline of authority of the husband as head of the household and by the opportunities for employment of wives away from the home but also by changes in religious influence which are probably due in part to discoveries in biology and physiology. Also we know that the divorce rate is higher for wives without children than for wives with children. Hence the birthrate effects changes in divorce. The reduction in the number of children is an influence which flows from the invention of contraceptives. Thus it comes about that a phenomenon like the divorce rate feels the impact not just of the steam engine but of the theory of evolution and also of the invention of contraceptives. In other words, on each link in the chain of successive derivative influences converge the influences from other and different chains of discoveries and inventions.

The pattern of the impact of science upon society is therefore oversimplified when we think of it as being like a chain of many links. The pattern is more that of a series of chains joined together in a network like the chain armor worn by the knights in the middle ages.

V

An interesting point about this process of scientific influence upon social institutions turns on the question of whether these influences are inevitable or whether there may be some choice in the determination of what influences will flow from scientific discovery.

Some social effects do appear as inevitable. For instance, the discovery that seeds artificially planted or roots replanted could assure a food supply led to the abandonment of the hunting of wild animals and the gathering of wild plants and seeds for food by primitive hunters, and thence to the adoption of agriculture. Primitive hunters in general were wanderers in small bands, not staying in one locality many years. Their communities usually numbered around fifty persons and were often even smaller. Agriculture with the digging stick as an implement for cultivation led early agriculturists to live in stable communities of several hundred persons, while agriculture with a plow as an implement of cultivation, together with domesticated animals, increased agricultural communities in population to several thousand inhabitants. So we may say that agricultural inventions increased the size of communities from less than a hundred in population to many thousands.

One derivative result of this change in the size of the community was the increase in the number of social organizations, clubs, and associations in a single community. It is very difficult to see how a community of fifty persons or less, in which there were only ten or fifteen men and ten or fifteen women, could ever have much variety in or a large number of such social organizations. But a community of ten thousand will have many such clubs and institutions. It thus appears that the agricultural inventions leading to the increase in size of a community inevitably increase the number and variety of social organizations. Another illustration is that the extensive use of the transport airplane and of the autobus and private automobile inevitably lessens the growth of passenger traffic on railroads.

An observation of a different kind indicating this deterministic nature of technology concerns the invention of the same object by several different inventors. We know, for instance, that many scientific discoveries and mechanical inventions have been made by more than one person, each acting independently and without knowledge of the other. Thus calculus was discovered by Newton (1671) and Leibnitz (1676); the discovery of natural selection by Darwin (1858) and by Wallace (1858); the discovery of oxygen by Scheele (1774) and Priestley (1774); the invention of the electric telegraph by Henry (1831), Morse (1837), Cooke-Wheatstone (1837), and Steinheil (1837). There were five claimants for the invention of the steamboat, three for the sewing machine, and three for the typewriter. From these records it appears that if one inventor had died we would have had the invention made by another inventor. If both the discoverers of calculus had

died, the presumption is that someone else would have discovered it. In fact, researchers have uncovered the names within the last few years of two mathematicians other than Newton and Liebnitz who discovered calculus at about the same time. One hundred fifty such multiple inventions and discoveries have been recorded.²

It certainly appears from this list that these inventions were inevitable. At least their creation seems independent of a particular inventor. Perhaps the reasons for the appearance of these inventions were (1) the existence of elements of knowledge which made it possible to make the invention or discovery and (2) the demand for them which led scientists to work on the problem. The existence of the requisite knowledge and elements for a particular invention or discovery is probably the reason why the inventions occurred all at the same time, and the demand for them is probably the reason why more than one person invented them.

But the problem of inevitability of the social effects of science is not quite so simple as indicated by these illustrations. There does appear to be some choice about the matter, at least in the practical sense. For instance, can we say that the inevitable effect of the potential use of the nuclear fission in an explosive will be the dispersal of urban populations? At the moment there seems to be some choice as to whether people will live in large congested cities or whether they will move away and live in smaller places. Or can we say the discovery of the atom bomb will make war so terribly devastating that it will lead, inevitably, to the abolition of war? Again, at the present moment, there seems to be in this case at least an element of choice.

Of course, this whole problem of the determinism of science and technology is part of the general problem of determinism versus free will, discussed for so long in philosophy. But as we penetrate more and more into the causes of social phenomena and their changes we certainly do find more and more instances of social changes being precipitated by mechanical inventions and scientific discoveries.

VI

The effect of invention and scientific discovery upon social change cannot be seen merely by considering one invention here and there. The totality of the effects of all inventions and scientific discoveries should be envisaged. How many inventions there are we, of course, do not know, but the number of patents granted per year is quite large. In the United

² W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change* (New York: The Viking Press, 1950), pp. 90-102.

States 40,000 patents per year have been granted in recent years. To these should be added the patents granted in Britain, France, Germany, and other nations. Not all patents are inventions, nor are all significant. Also, many scientific discoveries and inventions are not patented, and the record of these is not systematically made or even known. We know that scientific discoveries in most of the basic sciences have been following, over the past hundred years or so, an exponential curve in their growth,³ and, for a while, the curve of patents in various countries followed an exponential curve. Certainly the trend line of patents over a considerable period of time moves upward. We therefore look forward to an increasing number of scientific discoveries and inventions. This conclusion is not only determined empirically but may be derived theoretically. For an invention or a discovery may be defined as a combination of known elements into a new one, and if science and knowledge accumulate there are more elements to combine into new inventions and discoveries. These elements vary enormously in their significance. The internal combustion engine is immensely more significant than the fabrication of a mechanical pencil. But significant inventions and discoveries do not appear to be lessening at all.

We have, for instance, quite a formidable list of discoveries and inventions of great potential significance to the form and structure of society and its institutions. A few of these are television, plastics, magnetic wire recorder, point-to-point short wave telephony, the photoelectric cell, the helicopter, the airplane, the fractionated motor, nuclear fission of heavy elements, the combination of nuclei particles of the light elements, knowledge of the date of ovulation in women, synthetic hormones, biotics, vitamins, and trace minerals. These are only a few of the many significant new inventions whose social effects will be found in the future. These assuredly mean not that we are living in an age of transition between two plateaus of quiet and peace, but rather that we should look forward for a time to ever-increasing social changes which may be so rapid as to be revolutionary and which will occur in many different phases of our civilization. It is, of course, highly desirable that we foresee these social effects and prepare to meet them.

³ Harvey C. Lehman, "The Exponential Increase of Man's Cultural Output," *Social Forces*, 25:281-90, March 1947.

RACE RELATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA: II* NATIVES, JEWS, AFRIKANERS, ENGLISH

WILLIAM KIRK
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The Bantu in South African life. The native labor problem grows out of the prevailing economic and social standards. In the first place, the wholesale dumping of cheap labor from the rural districts and native settlements into the industrialized centers brings about an alarming growth of urban poverty and distress. Many Europeans claim that restrictive legislation may serve temporarily to protect urban standards, but such laws can do little to restore a wholesome balance between city and country. Urban poverty, then, must be tackled back in the reserves where the conditions are bad enough to force the able-bodied workers to seek new ways of earning a livelihood. They feel the pull of urban industry along with the outward push of the substandard kraals.

If the countryside is to be saved, the most urgent need is a new agricultural policy in the native reserves, new schools, expert demonstrators, fencing, fertilizers, and farm implements. Suitable manufacturing industries, cooperatively handling hides and skins, meat products, and textiles, would undoubtedly relieve the pressure on the land and would react favorably on wage scales and social standards in the industrialized towns.

Long-range planning should look forward to building up the native reserves to the point where they will be the homes of a settled, self-sustained native people. Effective plans for agricultural improvement should not be held up because of any fear that this advancement will make recruiting for the gold mines more difficult. Neglecting the native reserves for the sake of cheap labor for the mines and shops, it is claimed, would be shortsighted.

In 1928, for example, the Union Government undertook to secure to Lourenco Marques from 50 to 55 per cent of the total tonnage of sea-borne traffic imported into what is known as the competitive area of the Transvaal. In return for this trade guarantee, the Portuguese Government granted certain facilities for the recruiting of natives within its boundaries for the gold and coal mines of the Transvaal.

*Editor's Note: The first article on this subject by Dr. Kirk appeared in the September-October issue of *Sociology and Social Research* and dealt with the Malays, the Coloured, and the Indians.

On one occasion the writer saw a long train loaded with natives returning from Johannesburg to Lourenco Marques after the laborers had served their time in the gold mines. European friends of the natives pointed out that this practice is an example of labor exploitation at its worst. The one cure for this condition is to make the native reserves permanent homes for Africans, instead of continuing to keep them as labor reservoirs for mining and industry.¹ One deep-rooted native custom, however, stands in the way of immediate progress. The natives in the kraals place undue emphasis upon cattle raising with the result that the land is overgrazed and the herds are steadily growing weaker.

Furthermore, an influential native chief, deploring the status of the people in his own district, told the writer that the standards of the present generation are much lower than the standards of the generation in which he grew up. In Natal the prevailing price for a daughter given in marriage is eleven head of cattle. Since the women traditionally provide the food in Zululand and, the more wives a man can buy, the more food becomes available, the young men wishing to marry must seek remunerative work elsewhere, and at once the pull of the city becomes irresistible. When he gets to the city, the Zulu youth finds a temporary job, intending to work for the white man only long enough to earn the bride price and then go back to settle down in his native kraal.

One indication of dire poverty in many villages is seen in the following incident: When the health officers visited the kraals in a clean-up campaign, many a native stood completely nude while the medical corps disinfected his one suit of clothes. This is why the Zulu usually wears his one suit until it is in rags.

To add to other difficulties, we find a strong undercurrent of ill will between the whites and blacks in too many sections. A dispatch from Harrismith, dated November 30, 1950, reads: "Details of a clash in Witzenhoek native reserve reveal that an attack was launched on police, serving subpoenas, by six hundred natives armed with assegais (native spears), axes and firearms, with two white policemen killed and sixteen others injured. Thirteen natives were killed, and several wounded. Attackers fled to the mountains."

If the present bitter feeling persists, an outbreak similar to the Durban riots is a possibility at any time, anywhere. Senator Edgar H. Brookes, a well-informed South African, makes a number of pertinent suggestions for the future treatment of the native problem:

¹ "Our Native Reserves" (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations), pp. 33-34.

Press to the utmost of our power for wage determination in every industry and area where the Bantu standard of living is depressed.

Work for the organization of Bantu trade unions with leaders of integrity.

Promote housing schemes of a high order.

Utilize effectively the doctors and medical aides who are now being trained in the national plan for preventive and remedial medicine.

Back the Government's plan to provide more land for the underprivileged and to educate the general public in the scientific use of agricultural resources.

Find a fuller place for the Bantu in commercial life and ban the ridiculous practice by which the African finds difficulty in getting a license to trade among his own people.

Introduce a better financial system for native education, foster improved schools, and open up new careers for our young men and women.

Look forward to the day when a Union-wide franchise for the Assembly will be on the statute books.²

In passing, it may be of interest to note that an influential member of Parliament gave as his solution of the race problem: (1) bring more whites to South Africa, (2) educate the blacks and turn them into assets, but (3) continue the policy of segregation.

The Jews. Just a word may be expressed about the Jewish people in South Africa, who live for the most part in the large cities and, generally speaking, have a higher living standard than most South Africans. For political reasons, officials of the present government are apt to express dislike for the aggressive spirit of the Jews and favor a policy of discrimination against this minority group. Privately, however, it is said, the Afrikaners have no desire to handicap the Jews. Especially in the rural areas where the Jewish traders and the Boer farmers have had face-to-face dealings, the two groups have learned to work together amicably, and this friendly feeling has been carried over into urban life. Witness the number of Jewish officeholders, as one Jewish civil servant pointed out, who are in political life. The English-speaking groups, on the other hand, are publicly and privately opposed to the Jews as a people, and do not conceal their desire to curtail their activities and their influence. Here again, the English and the Afrikaners are at sword's points. The English minimize the successes in Palestine, whereas the Afrikaners have gained genuine respect for the fighting qualities of the

² Edgar H. Brookes, "The Bantu in South African Life" (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1943), p. 59.

Jews since the rise of the Israeli Republic. If a handful of Jews, say the Afrikaners, could lick the whole Arab world, why could not the Dutch, in the Boer War, have driven the English out of South Africa?

So the war of words keeps the old resentments alive, and the Government, outwardly opposing the Jew as a political scapegoat, is quietly favoring the members of this minority group in devious ways. This leads to a brief discussion of the English-Afrikaner situation.

English-Afrikaner relationships. One ever-present difficulty in the English-Afrikaner relations is the use of two distinct languages, both spoken and written, throughout the Union of South Africa. Every official document, every legal paper, every street sign, every road sign must carry the message in two languages. In Natal, for example, relatively little Afrikaans is heard, whereas in the Transvaal or the Orange Free State the majority of the Europeans speak Afrikaans. It should be noted, however, that a large number of the Europeans are bilingual, although the writer encountered numerous educated persons in Natal who did not understand Afrikaans, and a larger number in the Transvaal who had a very inadequate knowledge of English.

As long as General Smuts lived and held the respect and confidence of both factions, the citizens had a sense of security and a belief in the future which seem to be lacking today. Now that he is gone, all classes of citizens unite in mourning a great leader and an international statesman, and the universal plaint is that there is no one in South Africa to take his place. The present government is loyally supported by members of the South African Nationalist Party but is looked upon with distrust and suspicion by most of the English-speaking people. In describing the plight of South Africa one cannot fail to notice the wide gulf between the Afrikaans-speaking population and the English-speaking group, and the unlikelihood of bridging that gulf in the present generation. For example, Mr. J. G. Strydom, Minister of Lands, in a Kruger Day celebration at Maritzburg in October 1950, assured Natal Afrikaners that they were treated "worse than step-children" in their own country; their fellow Afrikaners in other parts of the Union were with them in the fight. "Natal must become so that the Afrikaners will know they are in their own country and not in a British colony."

Replying to this speech, Senator G. Heaton Nicholls, in a statement to the *Natal Daily News*, said: "It is an insult and a calumny to suggest that the British, who have been in Africa for 150 years, have not played an equal part with Afrikanerdom in making South Africa fit for human habitation. It appears pretty certain that the Afrikaner republic is close

at hand." The Senator went on to explain that Natal had the constitutional right to withdraw from any revolutionary state that may claim to succeed the Union under the Crown. Again, the *Natal Mercury*, in a recent article claimed that the policy of the Nationalist Party under Dr. Malan was to use a minority government to turn this country into an Afrikaner republic, and to subordinate the English-speaking section to a "completely ruthless dictatorship," sweeping away the English language and tearing up the Constitution of the Union.³

The truth probably lies somewhere between the aggressiveness of the Afrikaners and the overanxiety of the conservative English. Before the World War, there were relatively few Afrikaans families living in Natal, the seat of the greatest unrest and disturbance today. The two groups had little opportunity to get acquainted and, therefore, as comparative strangers, were suspicious of one another. The picture is changing now, it is claimed. In the past ten years, something like 20,000 Afrikaners have made their homes in Durban, and between the two peoples there is developing a spirit of understanding and tolerance for each other's viewpoints and culture. The day-by-day intermingling of the city population, the ever-increasing use of both languages by each group, and the increasing number of intermarriages—all indicate that the old barriers are disappearing and a majority of Natal citizens are in truth South Africans.

During his stay in South Africa the writer heard expressed again and again, in all parts of the Union, the belief that the present Nationalist Government is determined to break away from the British Commonwealth, to establish an independent republic and to make the Afrikaners the dominant ruling class at the expense of the English-speaking people.

The present government is especially resentful of criticisms that come from overseas. The Prime Minister, last October, in a speech at Kimberly is reported as follows: "I want to remind people overseas in general, who attack us . . . that they ought to know better. I would remind these people that South Africa is not a British colony. We want to be good friends with England. We are going far to maintain good relations and understanding, but if people in England want to drive England and South Africa apart, they have only to continue in this way."

In view of these facts, it may be easy to overemphasize the present danger and to paint a too dismal picture of the future. On the other

³ *Natal Mercury*, September 9, 1950.

hand, when each separate problem is seen in its proper perspective, one is inclined to reach the conclusion that South Africa is suffering largely from the growing pains of youth, which will gradually ease as the Union reaches a more mature stage. Anyone who is familiar with the turbulent history of South Africa, especially the terrifying reign of Tshaka, the "African Attila," in the early years of the nineteenth century,⁴ cannot fail to appreciate the steady improvement in the over-all picture.

No one will deny that South Africa is beset with acute problems on every side. A beautiful land, a friendly climate, unlimited natural resources, and unusual human possibilities, but the people are anxious, restless, discontented, and fearful. Cultures clash: Malay, Cape Coloured, Indian, native, Afrikaans, English, Moslem, Hindu, Catholic, Jewish, heathen, Dutch Reformed, and Anglican—all form a combination of conflicting interests that retard and imperil the well-being of the Union. The better-educated and forward-looking citizens are fully aware of the crosscurrents and are resigned to a long struggle against great odds in helping to solve problems through cooperation and sympathetic understanding. The Nationalist Party now in political control feels that it has found a partial answer in *Apartheid* or total segregation. The Opposition believes in equal rights and close ties with the British Commonwealth. There are many proposals, and an ever-growing public concern, but no one is rash enough to claim the final solution or dares to forecast the next decade.

⁴ P. A. Stuart, *An African Attila*, London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1927.

THE RISE OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY

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Readers of this periodical are undoubtedly well aware of the meteoric rise of the field of industrial sociology. If we use as an index of popularity the introduction of courses, we find that industrial sociology has become a "best seller," for sociology departments as well as business schools and economics departments, often under the title "Human Relations in Industry," are giving many new offerings in this area. Even that staple course in economics, personnel administration, is changing in content so that it reflects "a point of view and a method" springing from the understanding provided by industrial sociology.¹

It is the assumption of this paper that industrial sociology has grown so widely and rapidly that it would be worth while to look back to discover what contributed to this swift development. A clearer understanding of industrial sociology's beginnings and support, it is believed, would aid in the evaluation of its approach, method, and findings.

In addition, the intention is that this paper will have some relevance for the sociology of knowledge. Unfortunately, relatively little work has been done on the sociology of social science despite the interest in the general problem. Although we are concerned primarily with pointing out significant elements in the rise of industrial sociology, it is hoped that the approach of interweaving attitudes in the academic world with problems in society against the backdrop of cultural ideas may be a suggestive framework for the sociologist of science.

The plan of this paper is (1) to analyze some of the forces in the academic world which have led to the phenomenal popularity of industrial sociology, then (2) to discuss problems of industrial change to see why some business concerns have followed this trend. Finally (3), we will examine some themes in the American culture supportive to the orientation of industrial sociology.

THE ACADEMICIAN AND INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY

Academics have seized the opportunity to conduct investigations into factory problems. This research has been particularly inviting to the social scientist because of his attitude toward his social role, his social

¹ Paul Pigors and Charles A. Myers, *Personnel Administration, A Point of View and a Method*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1947.

acceptance, and his scientific success. While the following elements may not have been the primary motivation of the industrial sociologist, they certainly fulfilled important functions for him.

1. In many ways the social scientist has inferiority feelings. In a culture which stresses pragmatic results and is suspicious of "theory," it is not surprising that the social scientist searches for ways of vindicating himself. Industrial sociology with its ready application in industry offers such an opportunity.² Social science which can be readily and eagerly adopted by businessmen is not "mere" theory; thus the social scientist has been encouraged to work in this field because of the quick rewards.³

2. A corollary to this interest in receiving encomiums from the business world is that many firms have underwritten research, often posing the problems for the solution of which they have furnished the facilities. With the dearth of other research funds, the possibility of business subvention undoubtedly adds to the interest in industrial sociology, as some critics have pointed out.

3. At the same time that the social scientists receive comparatively easy approbation and sources for funds, they are engaged in problems that do not alienate the sponsors and yet do apparent social good. Since one of the keystones of industrial sociological analysis is the dependence of productivity upon morale, human relations experts in an attempt to increase productivity (the interest of business) concentrate upon improving "morale." In this endeavor they consider themselves to be helping the worker enjoy himself more, particularly in his job relations. The researcher sees himself in the enviable position of conducting interesting experiments and investigations, which his employers approve, and still of being able to do "good things" for people. With many social scientists

² A movement parallel to the development of industrial sociology is the sociological work in the theory of economic expectations. In order to adduce evidence of their usefulness sociologists have engaged in research in this field; more fundamental research in the implications of their subjects for economics and allied fields has probably lagged. For example, the study of the crucial topic of competition and cooperation has been relatively neglected; one can cite the Lewin experiments, May and Doob, and perhaps Margaret Mead's work, but little has been done recently to analyze the short-run and long-run impact of such behavior, the conditions under which they operate most effectively, the structures which they require, etc. For an analysis of sociopsychological work in the field of expectations, see Kurt Mayer, "Toward Understanding Economic Behavior," *Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 8:327-35, July 1949.

³ We are not discussing in this paper the difficulties which may occur because of an orientation to "prove" oneself in the eyes of business. It may be that the availability of rewards from business sometimes blinds researchers to the limited perspectives of their work. Cf. Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1949), pp. 326-27, and Daniel Bell, "Adjusting Men to Machines," *Commentary*, 3:79-88, January 1947.

concerned about their social roles, this work seems to satisfy this orientation, since it emphasizes building worker satisfactions.

4. The kind of research involved in this field has also been attractive. The early work such as that of the Harvard group at Western Electric explicitly used what has been termed "the interdisciplinary approach." And the field of industrial sociology has since been known to be non-sectarian; that is, it is regarded as a salutary attempt to break down the rigid departmentalization of the social sciences. The maintenance of this creditable point of view has also given rewards to social scientists involved in this research.

5. The technique of investigation followed has also been well elaborated, so that investigators can draw on their present knowledge and approach for answers to problems. The expected answers are assumed to be along the lines of previous knowledge and answers. One of the results has been to make work in this field attractive because of the clarity of the framework in which to pose research studies. In a sense, the student of industrial sociology has a considerable measure of certainty of obtaining usable or acceptable results; few branches of study offer such certainty.⁴

INDUSTRIAL CHANGE AND INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY

The most outstanding impetus for the growth of industrial sociology came from the business world, which not only supported a good deal of the research but utilized many of the findings. The following points indicate why business supported such social science work despite its previous hesitance to subvent investigations by nonphysical sciences.

1. The depression of the 1930's left a deep mark on the thinking of businessmen and workers. During the depression industry was faced with acute problems of survival. Intense cutthroat competition was ever a possibility, and with a shrinking and low-level market industrial concerns sought to maintain themselves by limiting risks and reducing costs. Changes in labor costs, which *in toto* may have been a small percentage of total costs, often represented the difference between a profit and a loss. Consequently, business firms became sharply concerned with methods of bringing down labor costs.

⁴ That many later studies have not developed beyond nor diverged from the pioneer Mayo-Roethlisberger work to any marked extent may indicate this crystallized frame of reference. A large part of recent work seems to be cut in the Hawthorne mold with apparently little interest in growing beyond it. See C. W. M. Hart, "Industrial Relations Research and Social Theory," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 15:55-56, February 1949. Hart's study, as reported in this article, seems to be an imaginative development of the perspectives of industrial sociological research.

A typical method of reducing labor costs is, of course, the introduction of new machinery. But an unsteady current and potential market and a danger of illiquidity made enterprises fear to undertake additional investments.⁵ The aim of industrial companies in this period might be termed "efficiency without expansion." To reduce labor costs without introducing new machines, industry attempted to utilize labor more effectively and to induce workers to increase output. An industrial sociology approach which increased productivity without requiring a capital outlay was inviting.

2. Enterprise, to alleviate its cost situation, had followed the traditional pattern of wage-cutting. But the rapid rise of unions, particularly in the mass production industries, began to make this alternative unfeasible. In addition to accentuating manufacturers' interest in internal economies rather than in wage-cutting as a means of reducing labor costs, the rise of unionism led them to attempt to maintain good relations with their employees in order to ward off unionization.⁶ Where plants were unionized, it became necessary "to learn to live with unions" as national and state legislation and growing membership and solidarity gave a sure strength to the union. The apparent gentility of the human relations concept indicated to workers the abandoning of an older antagonistic attitude and indicated a willingness to go along with unions in an era when they were becoming more generally acceptable. This early public support of unions also influenced firms to be more amiable in their relations with union and workers in order to avoid public censure.⁷

3. In the forties employment rose very sharply. Former methods of encouraging productivity by threatening firing were no longer effective, since jobs were plentiful. Inasmuch as many morale and productivity problems of World War II were not due to or resolvable by wage adjustments, the focus of human relations upon the individual both inside and outside the plant was an immediate aid in understanding workers' behavior. The impact of wartime dislocations, such as inadequate housing

⁵ Cf. Alan Sweezy, "Declining Investment Opportunity" in *The New Economics*, Seymour Harris, ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1947), p. 429, where he discusses J. M. Keynes' view of this problem.

⁶ Cf. Frederick H. Harbison, "The Basis of Industrial Conflict," in *Industry and Society*, William F. Whyte, ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1946), pp. 172-73.

⁷ It should perhaps be added that at the present time some unionized firms may be using their human relations program to minimize union militancy. In these cases it appears likely that the union is company dominated to some degree. The plant workers may be willing to go along with the lack of union militancy because of the compensations of the human relations program (and to some extent perhaps because of the inferential "big stick" behind the program).

and community facilities, broken families, etc., required a departure from traditional personnel tactics and understanding. The comparatively easy profits which could be employed in material and labor expansion to only a limited extent were used to increase production in one of the few ways still available—the expansion of personnel activities. Thus the war period gave a tremendous push to the interest in industrial sociology.

4. Most human relations programs are concentrated in large firms. This situation is due not only to the financial strength of these larger enterprises and to the problems growing out of the impact of size of a plant upon morale,⁸ but also to the public relations importance of such a program. A continual source of surprise is the extent to which students with no academic background in labor relations are aware of the celebrated human relations activities of a Standard Oil, Johnson & Johnson, Jack & Heintz, etc. Undoubtedly, many large concerns have been strengthened in pursuing a human relations program because of the favorable publicity it produces. Since the public view of large enterprises affects legislation in the fields of industrial relations and antimonopoly action, these firms gain rewards from their programs in the favorable public reception. The unfavorable publicity of the thirties probably increases the present-day importance of the public relations implications.

5. An interesting sidelight that probably has affected some key executives has been the outstanding publicity that they have received for their part in such a program.⁹ A striking example of a businessman receiving public recognition for his company's program is General Robert Johnson of Johnson & Johnson. Many businessmen receive acclaim, not because of their straight-and-narrow business activities, but because of their more public-spirited acts. Paul G. Hoffman, formerly head of the Economic Cooperation Administration, achieved wide renown for this work and for his earlier work as head of the Committee for Economic Development, which publicized an unusual community and social approach for businessmen. This public acclaim of business figures who take what is considered to be an "enlightened" approach to socioeconomic problems may have spurred on this movement.

⁸ This latter point of the difficulties engendered by size, often referred to in analyses of contemporary difficulties, may be given exaggerated importance. Frequently the cultural and subcultural (e.g., factory) situations in which increased size occurs are more determinative of the effects of size than the mere fact of size itself.

⁹ In this connection, it is interesting to note that the November 1949 issue of *Fortune* devotes two articles to the community and social responsibilities of businessmen. The issue of the *Harvard Business Review* of the same date has a similar emphasis.

THE CULTURAL REINFORCEMENTS

Despite the inducements for the expansion of industrial sociological work, it might not have grown so rapidly but for various themes in the larger culture which were and are supportive to the orientations of the businessman and the researcher. These cultural themes led to rapid public acclaim for this work.

1. The popularization of Freud, the spread of psychological and psychoanalytic interpretations, and the current absorption in personality problems have led to a tremendous interest on the part of the public in "psychology."¹⁰ Industrial sociology work has depended on psychologic insights into individual motivation for much of its material, and its pointing out of the prevalence of irrational and nonrational behavior has led to much general interest.

2. A pervasive belief is that most problems are not matters of fundamental issues but rather of misunderstanding, of lack of faith, of different points of view. Thus, international affairs are in a scramble, because the foreign ministers do not "speak the same language" or "there's personal animosity between them." Difficulties then are reconcilable if the parties can be brought to "see eye to eye," if they can be made to look at the question from a different angle; this reconciliation is possible, it is felt, through the use of techniques of mediation, counseling, coaxing, compromise, etc.¹¹ In the field of labor relations, the public often thinks that disputes do not arise from basic or deep differences between management and labor, but are ill-tempered squabbles which can be rectified through the use of appropriate "techniques." The "technique of human relations" is considered a salutary device to this end.¹²

3. This desire to see problems as concerning technique and not issues ties in very well with the business and popular belief in the efficacy of manipulation of others and oneself. With the heralded success of advertising, the businessman believes that "anything can be sold," given "the right technique."¹³ Frequently harmonious labor relations are regarded

¹⁰ Carl R. Rogers, *Counseling and Psychotherapy* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1942), p. vii. See also Hadley Cantril and Muzafer Sherif, *The Psychology of Ego-Involvements* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1947), pp. 461-62.

¹¹ John T. Dunlop, *Collective Bargaining, Principles and Cases* (Chicago: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1949), p. 38.

¹² Cf. Benjamin M. Selekman, *Labor Relations and Human Relations* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1947), pp. 9-10.

¹³ Comments on various aspects of manipulation will be found in the following: Robert K. Merton, *Mass Persuasion* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946), pp. 142-46; Erich Fromm, *Man for Himself* (New York: Rinehart and Company, 1947), pp. 64-82; Morris Rosenberg, "The Social Roots of Formalism," *Journal of Social Issues*, 5:16-17, Winter 1949 (Issue title: "Participation, Culture and Personality"; Issue editors: Frank Riessman, Jr., and S. M. Miller); Arnold Green, "Duplicity, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow," *Psychiatry*, 6:411-24, 1942.

as "sellable" to employees through the "technique" of industrial sociology.¹⁴ Here we find the popular theme supporting a business theme and giving it public approbation.

CONCLUSION

Industrial sociology is a popular tool in studying industrial problems. This paper has attempted to outline some of the elements which have contributed to the popularity of the field in order to establish a basis for understanding some of the emphases of the field. While this article is not a critical review of the field of industrial sociology,¹⁵ the hope is that it presents material significant for such a needed appraisal. A study of industrial sociology must consider the social context from which it springs and in which it operates; this paper is an attempt to present the elements in the academic and business world which have supported the trend toward industrial sociology; it has indicated also the cultural reinforcements of this trend emanating from current recurrent popular themes.

¹⁴ This statement does not imply that such is necessarily the function or orientation of all human relations programs. Gomberg, however, writes that discussions of human relations "...are concerned with a method of handling people, not living with them." He also declares that "...many members of the management now hope to be able to exercise their arbitrary rule with a smile and a slap on the back since the whip and the grouch were ineffective." William Gomberg, *The Validity of Time Study Techniques* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1948), pp. 186, 185.

¹⁵ For such a review see Wilbert E. Moore, "Current Issues in Industrial Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, 12:651-58, December 1947; Herbert Blumer, "Sociological Theory in Industrial Relations," *American Sociological Review*, 12:271-78, June 1947; Bell, *op. cit.*; Hart, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-58, 72-73.

THE FAMILY IN NORWEGIAN FICTION

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A recent study of eighty-nine novels written by twenty-four Norwegian authors from 1870 to 1940 accentuates the social significance of fiction in social research. Written during a period of rapid social change, the novels not only reveal tensions plaguing various forms of group life but also suggest ways of relieving them. In many instances the data in the fiction closely resemble those found by social scientists in studies of group conflict.

Through experiences of characters in these novels, the authors point to causes underlying family dissension and conflict. They indicate the importance of affectional and sexual tensions¹ in marital discord. Mental stress and strain following in the wake of a loveless marriage, an extra-marital love affair, or a clash between concepts of the respective roles of the husband and wife in the family drama may disrupt the marriage by aggravating feelings of bitterness and resentment toward each other.

The fiction discloses the importance of similar cultural levels² in marital success or failure. Differences in religious, ethical, or moral values as well as educational and aesthetic interests are potent factors in erecting barriers of misunderstanding and disagreement between a husband and wife. Even great affection for one another cannot always bridge the chasm separating the two. Marriage after marriage fails because husband or wife finds identification with the marital partner impossible.

¹ Barbara Ring, *Into the Dark* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1923); Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, *The Heritage of the Kurts* (New York: United States Book Co., 1892); Sigurd Hoel, *One Day in October* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1932); Aksel Sanderemose, *Horns for Our Adornment* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1938); Knut Hamsun, *Shallow Soil* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1937); *Growth of the Soil* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1921); Johan Falkberget, *Lisbeth of Jarnfeld* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1930); Hans E. Kinck, *A Young People* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1929); Johan Bojer, *Treacherous Ground* (New York: The Century Co., 1923); Kristmann Gudmundsson, *The Morning of Life* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc., 1936).

² Sigrid Undset, *Kristin Lavransdatter* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1946), *Olav of Hestviken* (same publisher, 1929), *The Wild Orchid* (same publisher, 1931), *The Burning Bush* (same publisher, 1932); Hamsun, *Mysteries* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1927), *Mothwise* (London: Gylendal, n.d.), *Children of the Age* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1927); Ole Edvart Rølvaag, *Giants in the Earth* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1928), *Their Father's God* (same publisher, 1931); Sigurd Christiansen, *Chaff before the Wind* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1943); Bjørnson, *Magnhild* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1882).

The sad plight of these characters presents a severe criticism of any group that sanctions a marriage based upon other than mutual affection, respect, common interests, and like cultural levels.

By means of problem situations in which the characters are involved, the authors emphasize the place of personal and social roles³ in family relationships. One wife resents her work as household drudge; another seeks refuge from a place of subserviency in the home in a flight from reality. A husband turns in disgust from a role of "ardent lover" forced upon him by a jealous and passionate wife. Aged parents grieve when their useful roles in the family are assumed by aggressive and thoughtless sons and daughters. And little children feel unwanted and unloved when shoved into Cinderella's place by the fireside. Young women denounce the traditional courtship roles played by women and men and demand the same freedom in sexual relationships and choice of mates as that enjoyed by their men companions. They plead for social changes that would permit more equable standards of behavior for men and women alike.

In the fiction there are situations that direct attention to the damage that may be inflicted upon personalities within the framework of an unhappy marriage when emotional maladjustments⁴ develop between husband and wife. The causes are varied. Some stem from early parent-child fixations, some from lack of affection; others emanate from differences in personality configurations, sexual experiences, social attitudes and values. Because of these factors the marital partners learn to hate each other. Bickering and quarreling arouse feelings of resentment and frustration that play havoc with personality integration, affecting not only the husband and wife but the children as well. These difficulties are frequently too serious to solve without completely dissolving the marriage.

³ Undset, *Images in a Mirror* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1938), *Jenny* (same publisher, 1929), *Madame Dorothea* (same publisher, 1940); Jonas Lie, *The Family at Gilje* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1923); Ronald Fangen, *Duel* (New York: The Viking Press, 1934); Sigrid Boo, *The Servant's Entrance* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1933); Knut Hamsun, *Look Back on Happiness* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1940); Bojer, *The Everlasting Struggle* (New York: The Century Company, 1931), *Life* (New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1920), *Treacherous Ground* (New York: The Century Company, 1923), *The New Temple* (New York: The Century Company, 1928); Alvilde Prydz, *Sanspriel* (Boston: Richard G. Badger, Publishers, 1914). See also other novels mentioned in preceding footnotes.

⁴ Undset, *Kristin Lavransdatter*, *Olav of Hestviken*; Falkberget, *Lisbeth of Jarnfjeld*; Ring, *Into the Dark*; Christiansen, *Chaff before the Wind*; Rolvaag, *Giants in the Earth*; Björnson, *Dust* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1882), *Magnhild*; Bojer, *By Day and by Night* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1937).

When problems of this nature develop, a clash of loyalties⁵ may further aggravate the marital discord. According to the novelists, a clash of loyalties may find expression in an inner struggle or in overt conflict. In one novel a husband wrestles between a spiritual and a carnal love. In another a wife is torn between affection for her devout father and a passionate attraction to her irresponsible husband. Another finds marriage unsatisfactory because she cannot detach herself emotionally from her brother. There are others who fail to adjust to the marital partner because of misplaced loyalties. In all of these situations maladjustments arise which disrupt the home and in some instances destroy the marriage.

In a variety of situations the authors point to parent-child misunderstanding and conflict and their effects upon both children and parents. There are pathetic examples of rejected⁶ children and aged parents who suffer from loneliness and neglect. At an early age some children are obliged to shift for themselves and endure hardships forced upon them by unsympathetic employers. Old parents are exploited by selfish sons and daughters; some are forgotten by children in foreign lands; others find that education raises a barrier of social distance between the ignorant parent and his "educated" child. There are parents who fail to assume the responsibilities of parenthood until it is too late. When their children become ill or delinquent from neglect or leave home in revolt, these parents are overcome with remorse and regret. Some seek escape in death.

In the novels are found various situations portraying the often unjust attitudes of society toward the unmarried mother and the child born out of wedlock.⁷ Among the causes of the problem indicated are the loneliness and isolation on many of the farms where it is the custom for bachelor owners to employ young women housekeepers; the holiday and harvest seasons which bring together in informal association after long separations young people of both sexes; the intimate relationships that frequently develop between female servants and owners of large estates; and the freedom of association permitted the sexes by ancient custom.

⁵ Bojer, *The Face of the World* (New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1919), *Life, By Day and by Night, The New Temple*; Gudmundsson, *The Morning of Life*; Prydz, *Sanspriel*; Undset, *Kristin Lavransdatter, Olav of Hestviken*; Falkberget, *Lisbeth of Jarnfjeld*.

⁶ Falkberget, *Lisbeth of Jarnfjeld*; Bojer, *The Great Hunger* (New York: The Century Company, 1919), *The Everlasting Struggle, The New Temple*; Christiansen, *Chaff before the Wind*; Ring, *Into the Dark*; Undset, *Kristin Lavransdatter*; Peter Egge, *Hansine Solstad* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1929).

⁷ Bojer, *The Great Hunger, The Everlasting Struggle, Treacherous Ground*; Gudmundsson, *The Morning of Life*; Hoel, *One Day in October*; Undset, *Kristin Lavransdatter, Olav of Hestviken*.

The fiction directs attention to the social stigma attached to illegitimacy, the distress and mental suffering inflicted upon unfortunate unwed mothers and innocent children. It emphasizes a need for a different approach to the whole problem: social legislation and social treatment based upon sympathetic understanding and a willingness to help.

In the novels the following suggestions are made as possible solutions of family problems: re-evaluation of the factors involved in satisfactory and unsatisfactory family relationships; elimination of the cultural lags hindering the development of democratic family living; redefinition of the roles of husband, wife, and children in the family drama; sexual equality for women and men alike; legal protection for the unmarried mother, the child born out of wedlock, the orphan, the abandoned child, the aged, and the indigent; educational opportunities and economic sources to facilitate these social changes.

An examination of historical documents and social legislation⁸ enacted in Norway from 1870 to 1940 reveals similar reactions to family problems. They describe the attempts of the Norwegian people to stabilize the family by establishing schools which offer courses in homemaking, by emphasizing marriage as a career, by recognizing the importance of mutually shared leisure-time activities for husband and wife, and by stressing the dignity of domestic work in the scheme of family life. They also show how these efforts to stabilize the family influenced the laws enacted: compulsory prenatal and postnatal care for mother and child; financial and medical care for the handicapped and needy child; provisions for establishing paternity and securing financial support for the child born out of wedlock; divorce permitted on the ground of mutual agreement; annulment of marriage if the marital partner is infected with syphilis, pregnant by another, or the parent of a child born out of wedlock; measures to insure educational opportunities for all children.

On the other hand, there are no data in the historical and legal works relating to some of the problems mentioned in the fiction. These problems include those concerning the subjective aspects of family interaction:

⁸ Halvdan Koht and Sigmund Skard, *The Voice of Norway* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944); John Eric Nordskog, *Social Reform in Norway* (Los Angeles: The University of Southern California Press, 1935); Knut Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian People* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915); Mary W. Williams, *Social Scandinavia in the Viking Age* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920); C. J. Ratzlaff, *The Scandinavian Unemployment Relief Program* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934); Georgine Ritland Harris, *Progressive Norway* (Washington, D.C.: The Daylton Company, 1939); Walter F. Dodd, *Modern Constitutions* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909).

affectional and sexual tensions between husband and wife; personal reactions of those who feel unwanted, insecure, or emotionally frustrated; clash of loyalties; different concepts of family roles; and others of a similar nature. But when the novels are compared with the writings of social scientists the data concerning family problems in the two sources correspond closely. Only in methods of approach is there dissimilarity. The social scientists are concerned with real people in actual social situations, whereas writers of fiction create characters and social situations for their novels. Social scientists suggest social changes directly, novelists indirectly. The data in historical and legal documents may often be studied by employing the techniques of social case analysis, but those of socioliterary analysis are better adapted to social research in works of fiction.

The major sociological significance of the study of these novels is the support it gives those social scientists who have long recognized the value of fiction as source material for social research, as a medium whereby social meanings and understanding of various aspects of group relationships may be acquired. It also emphasizes the important role of novelists as not merely social reporters but also social investigators and reformers. To the sociologist interested in methodology the value of the techniques of socioliterary analysis in the study of fiction is indicated. Novels may also be considered a medium through which social changes may be channeled into the prevailing culture patterns of the group. By using them as reference material in the classroom, the teacher of sociology may find that they assist in the interpretation of various subjective aspects of personal and group behavior. The findings of this study suggest possibilities for further research in the field. They point the way to a potentially rich source of vicarious experience through the whole range of human relationships whereby a person may deepen his social perspective and enlarge his social vision in regard to many of the problems of present-day group life.

AGE AT MARRIAGE AND DURATION OF MARRIAGES OF DIVORCED COUPLES

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Recent investigations of marriage, divorce, and predicting success in marriage have considered age at marriage as a factor. Almost everyone is prone to think that age at marriage is an important factor for success in a marital union. Do the marriages of mature people terminate in the divorce court sooner than the marriages of young couples? Previous research has contributed knowledge on this subject. Dr. William F. Ogburn has stated: "Indeed there is both belief and evidence that early marriages break up more readily than do those contracted at a more mature age."¹

This article presents evidence on the following question: Of all marriages which ended in divorce did those marriages contracted by brides and grooms under 20 years of age result in divorce earlier than did marriages contracted by older-aged persons?

This paper is confined to an analysis of Wisconsin divorced couples. Marriages broken by desertion or by the death of one spouse are not included. It is recognized that most marriages are not dissolved by divorce. For Wisconsin in 1945, out of 1,000 couples 318, or 31.8 per cent, of the marriages would eventually end in divorce according to the 1945 rate of divorce in Wisconsin.²

Someone will, no doubt, raise the following query: Does not a larger proportion of the marriages of older persons remain intact than of young couples? Or, is not divorce more frequent among the younger married couples than among the older ones? These are indeed important questions which bear on this paper, but they are complementary to the one under consideration here. It is the judgment of the author that the omission of frequency of divorce among the age-at-marriage groups in no way invalidates the conclusions reached concerning the relationship among divorced couples between age at marriage and duration of marriage prior to divorce.

¹ William F. Ogburn, "Recent Changes in Marriage," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 41:287, November 1935.

² This probability of a marriage ending in divorce was calculated by the Cahen method.

METHOD OF STUDY

The relationship between age at marriage and the duration of marriage was analyzed for all couples obtaining divorces in Wisconsin during five calendar years. All couples obtaining divorces in 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945 were included in the study. It was assumed that these years were representative enough to depict trends occurring within the 30-year period. Two years were prewar, 1915 and 1940; two were postwar, 1920 and 1945; and the other was in the midst of the depression, 1935.

A total enumeration of all divorces was taken in the 5 years selected for study. Information on divorce data was transcribed from original divorce certificates on file in the Bureau of Vital Statistics office at Madison, Wisconsin. Among the items tabulated from each divorce certificate were the year of divorce of the couple, year of marriage, and age of husband and wife at the time of divorce. Although age at marriage was not listed on the divorce certificates, it was obtained by subtracting the number of years married from the age at divorce.

ANALYSES OF DATA

Four age-at-marriage classes were established for divorced women—under 20 years, 20-24 years of age, 25-29, and 30 years and over. Divorced men were divided into five age-at-marriage groups—under 20, 20-24, 25-29, 30-34, and 35 years of age and over. The mean duration of marriage was calculated for divorced men and women of the age-at-marriage classes in order to determine the differences in length of the marital unions. Critical ratios were computed for statistical tests of significance.³

Divorced women. In 1915 and 1920 women who married between the ages of 25 and 29 had the highest mean duration of marriage before divorce (Table 1). In both years women who married before their twentieth birthday were divorced sooner. However, the difference in mean duration of marriage is not significant (Table 2). In 1935, 1940, and 1945 women who were married before reaching 20 years of age were married longer than any of the other women who secured divorces (Table 1). All differences are statistically significant.

³ Although a total enumeration of divorces was taken for each of the five years, there were still a large number that did not report their ages (497 couples in 1915; 450 in 1920; 335 in 1935; 242 in 1940; and 296 couples in 1945). It was decided to analyze the data conservatively and therefore to compute the statistical tests of significant differences between the mean number of years married as though they were actually samples.

It is important to note that in all 5 years the women who married at age 30 and older had the shortest mean duration of marriage. In all years the youngest-aged brides (under 20) were married significantly longer than the oldest-aged brides (30 and over). It can be concluded that marriages resulting in divorce which are entered into by women 30 years of age and over break up significantly earlier than marriages contracted by women under 20 years of age.

TABLE 1
MEAN DURATION OF MARRIAGE FOR ALL DIVORCES
IN WISCONSIN, BY AGE OF MALES AND FEMALES
AT TIME OF MARRIAGE

Age at Marriage	Mean Number of Years Married				
	Year of Divorce				
	1915	1920	1935	1940	1945
Males					
Under 20.....	10.3	10.3	11.5	11.9	12.4
20-24.....	11.8	9.7	11.1	11.9	11.3
25-29.....	11.7	11.6	11.1	12.1	11.1
30-34.....	12.9	12.0	9.8	10.0	9.9
35 and over.....	9.1	8.8	7.9	7.5	7.3
Females					
Under 20.....	10.7	11.6	11.6	12.4	12.1
20-24.....	11.7	10.0	10.8	11.3	10.9
25-29.....	12.2	11.9	9.6	10.7	10.5
30 and over.....	8.7	9.3	7.9	7.6	7.2

Divorced men. The comparison, by age at marriage, of mean duration of marriages of divorced men, is similar to the relationships found for divorced women, with the exception of the year 1940.

The mean duration of marriage for men divorced in 1915 was highest for men married between ages 20 and 34 (Table 1). Men who married in their teens were married a shorter length of time. In 1920 men who married between 25 and 34 remained married longer before divorce than the youngest-aged men.

In 1935 and 1945 the youngest married men (under 20 years) had the longest duration of marriage before divorce. In 1940 the group of men who married in the age bracket 25-29 were married the longest prior to divorce.

TABLE 2
CRITICAL RATIOS BETWEEN MEAN DURATION OF MARRIAGES FOR DIVORCED MALES AND FEMALES IN
WISCONSIN, BY AGE AT MARRIAGE, FOR SELECTED AGE GROUPS*

Year	Males			Year	Females		
	Under 20 Years of Age at Marriage and 20- 24 Years at Marriage	Under 20 Years of Age at Marriage and 25- 29 Years at Marriage	Under 20 Years of Age at Marriage and 30- 34 Years at Marriage		Under 20 Years of Age at Marriage and 20- 24 Years at Marriage	Under 20 Years of Age at Marriage and 25- 29 Years at Marriage	Under 20 Years of Age at Marriage and 30 Years Old and Over at Marriage
1915	2.017	1.585	2.391	1915	1.795	1.894	2.954
1920	1.099	1.858	2.004	1920	4.013	.484	4.268
1935	.810	.800	2.912	1935	2.301	4.350	8.763
1940	.091	.377	2.973	1940	3.156	3.483	10.972
1945	2.879	3.064	5.000	1945	4.626	4.230	14.839

*The statistical tests of significant differences were computed between the mean duration of marriage to test the hypothesis that marriages entered into by men and women under 20 years of age result in divorce sooner than do marriages entered into by other age groups.

The formula $C.R. = \frac{M_1 - M_2}{\sqrt{\frac{\sigma_1^2}{N_2} + \frac{\sigma_2^2}{N_1}}}$ was applied where C.R. is the critical ratio, when the two means are assumed to be uncorrelated.

M_1 is the mean duration of marriage of the first age group and M_2 is the mean duration of marriage of the second age group. σ_1^2 is the standard deviation of the first age group, squared; σ_2^2 is the standard deviation of the second age group, squared. N_2 is the number of divorces in the second age category; N_1 the number of divorces in the first age category. If C.R. is greater than 1.96, using the 5 per cent level of significance, then the difference between the two means is said to be significant.

One important trend is noted in the relationship between age at marriage of divorced men and mean duration of marriages. Men who secured divorces the shortest time after marriage were those who married at age 35 and older. This is true for all 5 years.

The length of time married prior to divorce is found to be related to the age at marriage of divorced persons. In fact, high absolute age for either divorced spouse at marriage (30 and over for women; 35 and over for men) tends to shorten the duration of marriage. One other study confirms this generalization.⁴

CONCLUSIONS

1. In 1915 and 1920 women who married under 20 years of age remained in the married state a shorter period of time before divorce than women marrying at older ages. The differences are not statistically significant, however.

2. In 1935, 1940, and 1945 women marrying before their twentieth birthday were married significantly longer before divorce than women of all other age groups.

3. In 1915 and 1920 men who married before age 20 were married a significantly shorter period of time prior to divorce than older men.

4. In 1935 men who married youngest (under age 20) remained in a married state longer than other groups, but all differences are not significant.

5. In 1940 men who married before age 20 were divorced in a shorter period of time than men who married at age 25-29, but the difference is not significant.

6. In 1945 the youngest married men who obtained divorces remained married significantly longer before divorce than all other age groups.

7. Divorced men and women who married in the oldest age class, in all 5 years studied, secured divorces sooner than all other younger-aged groups.

⁴ Leon C. Marshall and Geoffrey May, *The Divorce Court—Ohio* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933), p. 90.

MAKING THE WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY

THE NEED FOR AN APPLICATION OF THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD

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We have been trying to "make the world safe for democracy" and "stop the spread of communism" since World War I. Of course, we ceased our major efforts directed against communism during World War II; but judging from our renewed activities since then, and our worries about the successes of the Communists, our efforts have not been successful. It is not necessary to enumerate the various techniques which we have tried. They range from eleemosynary activities to war, and we are still blindly trying all of them. How do we determine which technique is used, where, when, and to what extent? That is almost anybody's guess. Certainly it is not based upon previously obtained results; we have no valid data on our achievements. Furthermore, we have not decided exactly what we wish to achieve. We vaguely believe that we should build friendship for America or persuade people to be on our side.

A scientific approach to this problem on a world-wide basis is needed. First, we need to decide whether we are going to accept people as friends, regardless of their political, religious, and economic ideologies, or shun all nations whose beliefs and practices are not identical with ours. After we have decided upon our objective we can begin our research. We need to know the specific conditions in each social situation and the appeals of democracy, our side, and those of communism, the other side, in each of those situations. We need to *know how* these appeals operating in each situation have influenced people to accept democracy—or line up with us—favor Russian communism, prefer their own ism, or just not care. And we need to *know why*. How may we obtain the answers to such questions? Ask the people. Of course that is not simple; it is complicated and expensive, but so are our present procedures. It would be necessary to analyze the problem social situations and the procedure of both democracy and communism in each in order to plan the research, interview an adequate sample of the people, and process the data according to accepted methods of special research. The type of research proposed here does not

include thirty-day junkets abroad, reading letters to the editors, counting post cards mailed to congressmen, interviews with business and government officials only, and similar nonscientific activities.

It is admitted that the Russians would not be overly anxious to allow researchers unrestricted access to their country, but we can always begin at home; we have Communists here too as well as those who just disagree with our present policy. This may even help us to define more clearly our ultimate objective. We should not have unsurmountable difficulties in England, France, Germany, Greece, India, Italy, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, and the South American countries. Germany, Japan, and Korea offer opportunities to determine the effectiveness of all our techniques in three different situations. Elmo C. Wilson assures us that "Conditions in Western Europe are generally favorable to the design and execution of probability sampling."¹

This is not a suggestion for the use of a new and untried instrument. The Department of Agriculture began the use of scientific methods of research in 1936.² During World War II government attitude research expanded and was organized thus: "Two agencies, the Division of Program Surveys and the Surveys Division in the Office of War Information, became the principal service units to the civilian war agencies. The Research Branch, Information and Education Services, Army Service Forces, served the Army. The Office of Civilian Requirements conducted studies for the War Production Board."³ However, after the surrender of Japan, two divisions of the opinion research organization were disbanded and others greatly reduced in size.⁴

Furthermore, we have well-organized opinion research organizations in our country that are capable of undertaking such research. Of course, they would base their reports upon their findings rather than upon what we wanted to hear.

By adopting scientific attitude research on a world-wide basis we would know where we stand, and thus be able to plan and operate our program of building friendship for America on the basis of facts rather than on fiction, hopes, and guesses. From our data we would be able to determine which of our present techniques need to be discontinued,

¹ Elmo C. Wilson, "Adapting Probability Sampling to Western Europe," *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 14:223, Summer 1950.

² Waldemar A. Nielsen, "Attitude Research and Government," *The Journal of Social Issues*, 2:3, May 1946.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

modified, continued, or amplified, what new ones should be tried, and what Communist devices were effective enough to be borrowed and/or counteracted. Perhaps all of our present efforts contribute something to our goal, but our emphasis may be wrong. Then too, it is always possible that some of the Communists' techniques are worth trying. But we should *know*, and not guess.

DEMOCRATIC PLANNING ACCORDING TO MANNHEIM

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Karl Mannheim's ideas on democracy and social planning are developed in the posthumously published work entitled *Freedom, Power, and Democratic Planning*.¹ The new developments occur under the terms the *third way*, *democratic society*, and *democratic planning*.²

The Third Way. Mannheim's frame of reference for his discussion of democratic planning is his Third Way, which is a way for society between reaction and revolution. It is "the optimum balance between centralized authority and delegation of power to local and regional bodies."³ It involves a society that is well organized "in some of its basic spheres yet providing all the more freedom where freedom is essential."⁴ It is a way by means of "reform and peaceful change." It is planning for freedom, under democratic control.⁵

The Third Way requires expert and trained authorities, "emancipated intellectuals" who can keep free from pressures from people who believe in "outlived folkways" and who can withstand the "manipulative attacks of propagandists who try to impose upon them doctrines and artificial ideologies"⁶ of various kinds.

Mannheim's concept of the Third Way is that of a Mixed System "which reserves to private enterprise the spheres of pioneer adventure and initiative" on one hand, and to public ownership such basic industries as "power, transportation, mining, and distribution of the necessities of life."⁷ Here Mannheim's ideas will be opposed by many private enterprisers, and in his reference to the distributive agencies he will meet the opposition of consumer cooperators. He was well acquainted with private commercial enterprise but evidently not too well acquainted with private

¹ New York: Oxford University Press, 1950, pp. xix+384. Edited by Dr. Hans Gerth and Dr. Ernest K. Bramsted, assisted by Dr. Agnes Schwarzschild and Dr. Julia Mannheim.

² This paper is supplementary to one which was published by the writer in *Sociology and Social Research*, 32:548-57, September-October 1947.

³ *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

⁵ Cf. Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1936), p. 108.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁷ Mannheim, *Freedom, Power, and Democratic Planning*, p. 124.

cooperative enterprise, if one can judge by the lack of attention which he gives at this point to the cooperative movement. He urges the strengthening of mass consumption through wage and price controls and also investment controls.⁸

Certain "power institutions," such as the press and the radio could be left alone as long as they are small, but when the press and the radio attain great size, then the directing of their vast influence toward public welfare may require the development of "a body of public trustees comparable to the board of many universities."⁹ Public trusteeship is represented today by the *London Times* and the *Manchester Guardian*, as well as by the British Broadcasting Corporation. Public trusteeship may be necessary in order to free "both press and radio from dependence on monopolistic interests." Mannheim favors the BBC system because it represents control "not by business interests alone but shared by representatives of various sections of the public,"¹⁰ with democratic control being exercised by the representatives of the people in Parliament. The Third Way springs always from the democratic concept of intelligent responsibility.

In positive language, Mannheim asserts that the Third Way "will follow neither those who believe in complete abolition of pecuniary incentives nor those who consider money the only permanent and reliable work incentive."¹¹ In other words, Mannheim is no absolutist. He is realistic in that he takes into account the problems of human motivation along with the problems of social control. He advocates free choice for the individual, as much as is compatible with a needed degree of social organization and of a democratic society. But what is a democratic society?

A democratic society. A democratic society includes individual responsibility for the welfare of the whole society. Pride and self-righteousness are inadequate focal points. A democratic society trains its members to act not through blind obedience, but through "awareness of a new world with new experience" which will be "defined and regulated through common experience."¹²

A democratic society develops a level of human behavior "below which no citizen should fall."¹³ Certain types of behavior drop below this level, such as authoritarian thinking, dictatorial thinking, dogmatic thinking,

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 125.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 206.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

acting like an automaton. However, democracy will admit "competing reality levels to the realm of discussion," and will even change its own "reality level" with the changing of conditions through the decades.¹⁴ Mannheim objects to the rise of the masses into control before they are educated in the basic principles of personal freedom and social justice.¹⁵

Democracy is defined as "a theory of power aimed at defining ways of distributing and controlling communal power for maximum security, efficiency, and freedom."¹⁶ No discussion of democracy is vital if it does not accept democracy as the exercise of power, particularly in concrete ways in social situations. Democracy "condemns abuses of power"; it emphasizes functional power, not arbitrary power. In a democracy, power takes the form largely of exerting pressures. But the exercise of pressures and counterpressures involves procedures basically undemocratic, a point which Mannheim does not develop. He deplores the "free sway of uncontrolled violence," power organized in the form of revolutions and war, and favors with reservations "canalized power" which "produces orderly patterns of human interaction subject to norms, codes, and rules,"¹⁷ and, he might have added, to the needs of personality development.

Democratic planning. A democratic society will be characterized by democratic planning, which according to Mannheim is planning "for freedom, subject to democratic control." It is planning that favors no group monopolies, "either of entrepreneurs or workers' associations."¹⁸ It is planning for "full employment and full exploitation of resources"; it is planning for "social justice with differentiation of rewards and status" but not for absolute equality; it is planning "not for a classless society, but for one that abolishes the extremes of wealth and poverty"; it is planning for cultural leveling up "without discarding what is valuable in tradition," planning "for gradual transformation of society in order to encourage the growth of personality."¹⁹ The democratic society favors coordination, not regimentation.²⁰ Coordination of different measures and ideas is essential to planning,²¹ but not autocratic controls.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Cf. Mannheim, *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1940), p. 106.

¹⁶ Mannheim, *Freedom, Power, and Democratic Planning*, p. 45.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 48.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

Democratic planning is needed where everyone does not have opportunities, where free choice is not allowed, where no experimentation is permitted, where relevant facts about social needs are not available, where free competition is thwarted.²² Democratic planning is blocked where grave inequalities operate; it needs homogeneity, but not uniformity, in order to move from one peaceful agreement to another.²³ It functions naturally where there is "a broad, middle class" which has a stabilizing power because of its psychology of balance and which is "equally afraid of being suppressed by an oligarchy or wiped out by the proletariat."²⁴ Thus, the precarious position of the middle class is indicated and its vital role in democratic planning is emphasized as well.

Mannheim stresses the importance of leaders in democratic planning. They can influence the patterns of interaction; they can reshape the roles of individual members of groups.²⁵ The leader's strategy consists in assigning democratic roles. Mannheim's concept in this connection suggests the ways in which the leader can function in developing a democratic atmosphere in a group and thus in furthering democratically behaving individuals.²⁶

It is not enough to choose leaders for democratic planning by the traditional method of assuming that by free competition the best man will come to the top. It is necessary to choose by utilizing scientific methods, which involve awareness of the necessary kinds of leader behavior and the development and use of measurement techniques for selecting needed personality behavior.²⁷

The function of the sociologist in democratic planning consists in "understanding the issues at stake, and in evaluating the sociological significance of the proposed solutions."²⁸ It does not include technical discussions of the economic problems involved or taking sides in controversial questions.²⁹ Perhaps one might add that this function also involves analyses of long-term human needs and diagnoses of the attitudes of the people involved regarding their roles in democratic planning. In

²² *Ibid.*, p. 176.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

²⁶ Kurt Lewin, Ronald Lippitt, and Ralph K. White, "Patterns of Aggressive Behavior in Experimentally Created Social Climates," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 10:271-99.

²⁷ Mannheim, *Freedom, Power, and Democratic Planning*, p. 95.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

addition, the sociologist may assume some responsibility for presentation of techniques for bringing about changes in attitudes of people in given social situations.

Mannheim gives a definite place to religion in democratic planning, particularly to the role that religion may play in bringing about needed human integration. He assigns to religion, "freed from authoritarian and superstitious admixtures, the task of an ultimate integration of all human activities."³⁰ In addition to the functioning of conduct and character in action, there is needed "the integrating function of ideological or spiritual inspiration chiefly represented by religion."³¹ Religion answers man's craving for "a more fundamental oneness relating all his scattered activities to a common purpose"³² than man's daily contacts provide for him. In other words, man is not satisfied with "the pragmatic level of daily activity."

Although Mannheim does not indicate how far his concept of religion goes beyond humanism, he evidently has something more in mind than just humanism.³³ Had he lived longer he apparently would have elaborated this viewpoint. However, he insists that religion does fulfill "certain indispensable functions in this age of transition," that there is a tendency for the personality pattern without religion to become disrupted, disorganized, meaningless, and to change into a split personality.³⁴ The responsibility of meeting this basic need means that the religious leader "must keep up with the changing order," and build his outlook on life upon an increasingly deeper insight and intellectual comprehension.³⁵ In addition to assigning to religion this vital role of keeping personality in equilibrium, Mannheim gives it, also, certain objective functions, namely, "diagnosing society in transition," "focusing attention on important issues," and "integrating human conduct on the various levels of social life."³⁶ Evidently the religious leader needs to be well versed in sociology.

Mannheim's concept of "democratic personalism" is interesting but not extensively developed. It might well have been made into a sociological theory of personality. The person has a dual direction in life.

³⁰ E. K. Bramsted and Hans Gerth in "A Note on the Work of Karl Mannheim," in Mannheim, *op. cit.*, p. xiv.

³¹ Mannheim, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ In his *Diagnosis of Our Time* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944), p. 11, Mannheim deals favorably with Christian faith and principles as important factors in a democratic society.

³⁴ Mannheim, *Freedom, Power, and Democratic Planning*, p. 313.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

One direction leads him toward individualization and the other toward socialization, but it is important that a person avoid both overindividualization and overconventionalization. Individualization "should never proceed so far as to induce social chaos" and socialization should not stifle individualization.³⁷

In identifying socialization of the individual with role-playing in one sentence and with conventionalization in another, Mannheim's thought calls for clarification, although part of the difficulty may be semantic. In identifying the "dynamic source of continuous creativeness" with the "I," Mannheim does not indicate the possible role of social stimuli emanating from social situations.³⁸

Democratic personalism avoids "too rigid a Super-ego," for the latter results in a neurotic and uncreative personality. Democratic personalism calls for a person who is "ready for cooperation and living with others in a dynamic world." Society has a function to perform in deliberately setting out "to create personalities who feel sufficiently secure to take the risk of losing themselves" in regenerating society. Democratic personalism involves a continuous search by human beings "for an emergent new truth in the dynamic process of cooperation for the common good."³⁹ Thus, Mannheim identifies himself with perhaps the highest gradation of cooperative action.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

SOCIAL THEORY

THE GOLDEN GATE. A New Experiment in Philosophy. By Fred S. Spier. New York: Terrace Publishers, 1950, pp. 264.

This book is best described by its subtitle. The author, born in Germany and trained in philosophy and law in that country, gives in this work a new outline of a philosophical system centering around the concept of "the will to perfection as the ultimate reality," a viewpoint which he defines as "pan-cosmic perfectionism." The work shows the influence of Schopenhauer, of whose philosophy, together with that of Nietzsche, Dr. Spier gives a brief exposition and criticism. The deficiencies of materialistic world views are discussed, and the various implications of the idea of a "will to perfection" as the driving force underlying cosmic evolution are set forth. The book attempts, in short, to give a prolegomenon to a new system of philosophy, embracing such problems as the existence of deity, immortality, freedom of the will, epistemology, moral law, and aesthetics.

The author has incorporated recent scientific theories into his system. He critically examines such advanced topics as space-time, laws of chance, higher mathematics, and "the dance of the electrons," concluding with a summary form of a "pattern for a future cosmology."

Other chapters deal with human history, conceived in broad outline. Cosmic and cultural evolution are explained in terms of "the will to perfection," this being the central theme of the book. The author gives a survey of contemporary cultural achievements and international politics, and, although his approach to the present scene is marked by realism, he nevertheless sees grounds for hope regarding man's future.

Perhaps the most interesting theme is that of the last chapter, where Dr. Spier concludes with a plea for an international brotherhood of science, comparable to that envisioned by Bacon in *New Atlantis*. "Science is the only sphere of human activities where the search for truth, for lasting values, has not been drowned completely in the mechanistic deluge. . . where truth is still more important than the accumulation of riches and power." (p. 253) Consequently, it is felt by the author that the modern world needs to be guided by a responsible science. It is unfortunate that Dr. Spier did not develop this topic at greater length.

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THE RISE AND FALL OF CIVILIZATION. By Shepard B. Clough. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1951, pp. xiii+291.

The thesis of this book is that there is a definite correlation between economic development and cultural achievement. In support of this position the author, a historian, draws his materials from the civilizations of Sumer, Egypt, Babylon, Greece, Rome, Western Europe during the Middle Ages, the Reformation period, and modern Western civilizations. A final conclusion is that "economic well-being is one of the necessary conditions for a high stage of civilization." The book lends support to the well-known "economic determination of history." E.S.B.

SOCIAL SURVEYS. By D. Caradog Jones. London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1951, pp. 232.

The author considers a social survey as a fact-finding study concerned principally with working-class problems but recognizing also the interrelations of the various economic groups. He deals with a few of the outstanding studies of the past and illustrates the progressive technique that investigators have employed.

A short chapter is devoted to the far-famed Domesday Survey of 1086. Seven centuries later a census proposal was characterized as a "project totally subversive of the last remains of English liberty," but in 1801 common sense won and the first census was taken. Additional censuses have been conducted every ten years until World War II interfered. Such well-known surveys as Booth's "Life and Labor of the People in London," Rountree's two surveys of York, the Merseyside Survey, and several minor studies are analyzed by the author in respect to scope, method, and techniques. Each survey profited from the experience of the preceding one and the validity of its findings was enhanced.

A few of the conclusions reached by these surveys are also presented. For example, before World War II, well-being increased somewhat during the years after Booth completed his monumental study, the existing poverty became less intense and serious overcrowding had diminished.

The inclusion of portions of the schedule forms used, and of instructions for filling these forms, adds materially to the value of the treatise for investigators desiring to engage in additional survey work. The brief bibliography which is appended consists largely of titles to special studies and government reports. G.B.M.

TABLES FOR STATISTICIANS. By Herbert Arkin and Raymond R. Colton. College Outline Series. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1950, pp. vi+152.

This convenient economical little volume contains twenty-five mathematical and statistical tables most frequently used by students including the usual tables of squares and square roots, cubes and cube roots, common and Naperian logarithms, reciprocals, factorials, areas and ordinates of the normal curve, together with tables for t , F , Chi square, z , r , and so on. There is also a table of random numbers and of natural trigonometric functions. It is a veritable vade mecum for the student of statistics who needs only the briefer forms of such tables. E.F.Y.

A PHILOSOPHY OF LABOR. By Frank Tannenbaum. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1951, pp. 199.

Professor Tannenbaum declares in two introductory sentences that trade-unionism is the conservative movement of our time and that it is the counterrevolution. This may startle some ultraconservatives; but those who have, like the author, studied the historical events connected with and related to the labor movement in both England and the United States, and who have been able to interpret them in their philosophical meanings, will not thus be shaken. This is a book which is soundly and logically conceived. Some of Tannenbaum's basic points are: (1) the trade-union movement is an unconscious rebellion against the atomization of industrial society; (2) the influences responsible for the rapid growth of our trade-unions are those that converted the immigrant's children into Americans, educated them in public schools, taught them the English language, endowed them with the precious American heritage of independence and with the traditional American technique of democratic gathering for the discussion of common difficulties; (3) paralleling the organization of corporate industry, the union does for the worker what the corporation does for the owner; (4) the trade-union is an attempt by the individual worker to escape from insecurity—every activity of organized labor is a denial of both the philosophy and practice of a free-market economy; and (5) the trade-union is the real alternative to the authoritarian state, while the corporation and union will ultimately merge in common ownership and cease to be a house divided. These points, among others, are significantly developed by the author and provide the reader with a book of genuine substance for reflection.

M.J.V.

SOCIAL BEHAVIOR AND PERSONALITY. Contributions of W. I. Thomas to Theory and Social Research. Edited by Edmund H. Volkart. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1951, pp. ix+338.

In the Foreword, Donald Young calls attention to the fact that "the man who established the personal document and the life history as basic sources in social science has left no such materials about himself." In the Introduction the editor has summarized well Thomas' contributions concerning human behavior and the situational approach to the study of such behavior.

The editor has done an excellent piece of work in selecting and organizing the materials that point up Thomas' main contributions to sociology and social psychology. The four parts of the book bear the titles Social Science and Social Behavior, Social Behavior and Personal Dynamics, Social Behavior and Cultural Dynamics, and Personality and Culture. The first part deals with methodology, the second with personality, the third with culture, and the fourth with Thomas' program for the Study of Personality and Culture. A bibliography and a brief biographical note are appended.

E.S.B.

READINGS IN GENERAL SOCIOLOGY. By Robert W. O'Brien, Clarence C. Schrag, and Walter T. Martin. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1951, pp. 362.

This book of readings in general sociology has been designed to supplement, not to supplant, an introductory text. Some seventy-nine selections have been organized around such topics as sociology and science, some research techniques, culture, socialization, demography and ecology, social interaction, and social organization. The level of readings is superior, with a very strong orientation toward the empirical type of selection. In some respects this book could supplement a social research textbook to good advantage. Some instructors may feel that social theory has been ignored, but this weakness, if so interpreted, can be overcome by the instructor's desire to make social theory and social research interact. Good theory is made better by empirical research and vice versa.

Authors and publishers are to be congratulated for the generous use of graphs, tables, and diagrams. Another feature students will appreciate is the biographical note on each author whose work appears in the book. The conscientious use of this book with a regular sociology text will make the course more practical and rewarding to all introductory students.

E.C.M.

MAN: MUTABLE AND IMMUTABLE. The Fundamental Structure of Social Life. By Kurt Riezler. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1950, pp. x+365.

In this volume Professor Kurt Riezler, who teaches philosophy at the New School of Social Research, New York, discusses the long-standing question, What is man? Despite cultural and historical change, and the varied conclusions reached by different sciences, what in man remains permanent and unchanging?

The work is not in any sense a popular presentation. It represents a high level of philosophical thinking on such topics as the metaphysical aspects of social interaction and response, the relation of the self to other selves, and the structural contexts of "man," "thing," and "world."

Perhaps the most interesting chapters, sociologically, are those dealing with language, patience and impatience, care and carefreeness, play, humor, satire, love and hate, misery and happiness. They show keen insight into human nature and social interaction, and should be read with profit by students of the humanistic disciplines.

Different approaches to the problem of man are considered, among them the scientific, the mythological, and the philosophical. The author notes that their differences and boundaries are often disregarded. To students of the social sciences this work should also serve as a useful and necessary reminder of the complexity of their subject and the importance of underlying first principles.

JOHN E. OWEN

AN INTRODUCTION TO PERSONALITY STUDY. By Raymond B. Cattell. London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1950, pp. vii+235.

Psychologist Cattell reports that his objective for this small, compact standard text is to bring the general problems of personality description into a single perspective, integrating the principal fields of observation in clear-cut generalizations. In satisfying this aim he utilizes (1) the essentials of the "factor analytic" approach, (2) his concept *erg* (instinctive unlearned dynamic purpose), and (3) a system of adaptation-adjustment analysis. Personality, "that which determines behavior in a defined situation," when understood in its entirety may promise to be the integration of psychology, according to Cattell.

The logically developed text begins with a consideration of the problems and methodology of personality studies and follows with excellent chapters on the inherited, constitutional influences upon personality as well as the fashioning of personality by environmental forces. The abnormal personality, the problems of exact personality description and

measurement, personality and the body, and the influence of the cultural pattern are subjects of discussion for succeeding chapters. Cattell believes that the scientific approach for the subject depends upon controlled experiment and exact measurement, although he is aware of the difficulties faced in such experimentation with human beings. Therefore, one must "eliminate statistically" what cannot be controlled by experiment. His ideas for measurement of personality factors are set forth in a satisfactory manner. As to the final judgment of the text, much depends upon whether or not one thinks that science can function without mathematics, for the author declares that a person without a thorough training in algebra and geometry has little business in studying the subject.

M.J.V.

THE COLUMBIA ENCYCLOPEDIA. Second Edition. Edited by William Bridgewater and Elizabeth J. Sherwood. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950, pp. 2,203.

The first edition of this encyclopedia was published in 1935 and made for itself an enviable reputation. Not only were the items well chosen but the boiled-down explanations were well composed.

To revise a volume of this type is no easy task. Many new topics have to be chosen for inclusion and many topics in the first edition need to be rewritten. In order that the volume may not reach unwieldy proportions, for the first edition was both large and weighty (literally as well as figuratively), it was necessary in rewriting materials to add new data and to cut down the data that were included in the earlier volume.

The second revision represents an extensive revision. Although some readers feel that some of the revisions are not as satisfactory to them as the original statements, on the whole the new book is much more valuable than the first edition because of the new factual materials which have been added to virtually every page.

In this work of 2,200 pages, 3 columns to the page, of 70,000 entries, and of 6,000,000 words, the reader will find a handy desk volume, which, together with a dictionary and an atlas, will enable him to do his general reading intelligently and conveniently. This encyclopedia does not attempt to usurp the function of the dictionary by giving definitions or of the atlas by presenting maps. It sticks closely to its encyclopedic functions of providing facts and more facts. It does not give information in technical terms, leaving that function to scientific and specialized treatises.

The use of bold face type for entry headings, the style of general type, the kind of paper, the printing are all that anyone could ask for in a book of this kind.

Simplicity, durability, usability (with thumb index), and reasonable price have been meshed together in a way to produce a unique and outstanding reference work.

E.S.B.

THE PRINCIPLES OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH. By Paul Freedman. Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1950, pp. x+222.

This book is addressed primarily to those about to enter the field of scientific research, its general purpose being to demonstrate "how research should be done." The author has had thirty years of experience in industrial research and in the light of that experience offers his ideas. Well-grounded in the historical aspects of the growth and development of science, he develops his principles logically. Although there is nothing startlingly novel in his expositions, there is evidence of a man of science throughout the text. It is too bad that the writing more often than not is on the dull side, since the objective is one of inspiration for the initiate in research. After a discussion of the proper mental approach to be adopted by the young researcher, a chapter on the planning of research follows. Four essential factors are outlined and discussed: (1) consideration of the nature of the problem, (2) the method of the investigation, (3) the thoroughness with which the method is to be applied, and (4) the available resources and available time to be spent on the problem. A chapter devoted to the minimum number of essential observations is well handled and worth reading.

M.J.V.

GREAT ISSUES. The Making of Current American Policy. Edited by Stuart Gerry Brown. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951, pp. viii+578.

This book is an objective study of the factors underlying contemporary international tensions, in terms of a historical analysis of the two contending ideologies involved. Written by the staff of the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University, it furnishes a useful approach for an understanding of world issues and the background factors that have led to the present international situation. It represents a good combination of factual data from history, sociology, economics, politics, and geography, together with a treatment of the philosophical bases of Western democracy and Soviet communism.

The book opens with the story of "the American Way," namely, self-government and the growth of American democracy, the United States party system, and the ideological and industrial history of the American economy. Six further chapters are concerned with Soviet Russia—her historical and Marxian heritage, the development of "the Soviet Way," the dictatorship of the proletariat, and Soviet foreign policy from Petrograd to Yalta. The growth of British liberalism and democracy is traced, both in England and overseas, and later chapters consider problems of reconstruction in Germany, France, and Italy. The global nature of the present struggle is recognized by the inclusion of two chapters on the problems of China, and the work ends with a succinct account of the rise of American foreign policy, with emphasis upon the period during and following World War II.

Great Issues constitutes a very useful aid in comprehending the various historical forces that have gone into the making of the present conflict of world views. Apart from its obvious applicability as a text in political science and international relations courses, it should be of interest to the general reader who wishes to acquire greater insight into the nature of the contemporary world situation.

JOHN E. OWEN

University of Helsinki, Finland

MORALS IN EVOLUTION. By L. T. Hobhouse. New Printing, with Introduction by Morris Ginsberg. London: Chapman and Hall, pp. liv + 648.

This work by Hobhouse is too well known to be reviewed in this Journal. However, the "Introduction to the Seventh Edition" by Morris Ginsberg calls for special notice. Professor Ginsberg summarizes exceptionally well the aim and thought of Hobhouse in this notable work. For example, the key to the synthesis represented by *Morals in Evolution* Hobhouse "found in the idea of evolution, and inspiring the whole enterprise was an ardent humanitarianism and a belief in the power of rational thought to direct and control the course of human life."

Ginsberg concludes his thirty-eight pages of analysis of Hobhouse' thought by placing social science and social philosophy in a natural relationship. The need today is for "a development of the social sciences to enlarge our knowledge of the possibilities open to mankind (in connection with rational self-direction), and, on the other, of social philosophy to deepen our insight into the ends in which man can find fulfillment."

E.S.B.

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY. By Howard W. Odum. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1951, pp. 501.

Professor Odum has written a splendid review of American sociology from its inception to the present decade. He has organized the work around the following parts: (1) backgrounds of American sociology, (2) the presidents of the American Sociological Society, (3) authors of sociology textbooks, (4) sociological journals and other special groupings, and (5) an inventory of sociology. Readers will find this book packed with useful and interesting information on the origin and growth of sociology. No doubt some readers will find the discussions concerning leading sociologists of special interest. The emphasis in the book is on sociologists who have made sociology rather than on an examination of sociological theory or social research.

For almost every field of sociology a complete chronological bibliography is made available. In the earlier days it appears that sociologists were able to write in a number of different fields, but that no longer seems possible from an examination of the bibliographies. It may be worth noting that, although sociology has become highly specialized, there has been a growing trend toward interdisciplinary efforts; hence, such terms as *group dynamics*, *intercultural education*, *sociodrama*, *sociometry*, and others that could be cited, have become commonplace. Odum is not too happy about this trend and refers to it as "promiscuous group research." This superior book will be good reading for "old timers" in sociology, but a *must* for newcomers to sociology.

E.C.M.

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF SOCIAL CASE WORK. Second Revised Edition. By Gordon Hamilton. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951, pp. 328.

This standard work by a leading case-work authority was published first in 1940 and now, eleven years later, appears in a new form which includes less case material than was given in the initial edition. The book develops the "diagnostic" approach as distinguished from the "functional" one and utilizes the Freudian frame of reference for the discussion of theories of personality and of the psychodynamics of behavior. The treatise emphasizes two "nuclear ideas," namely, that "the human event consists of persons and situations, or subjective and objective reality, which constantly interact," and that social work "incorporates within its processes both scientific knowledge and social values in order to achieve its ends."

E.S.B.

SPEAKING OF MAN. By Abraham Myerson. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1950, pp. vii+279.

The late Dr. Myerson, according to the publisher, had been wanting to write a book about man's quest for self-understanding since 1930. His busy life as a research scientist and psychiatrist interfered with its progress, and it was not until the last year of his life, 1948, that he found time, during enforced invalidism, to write the first four chapters. The other chapters represent essays which were thought appropriate enough to include. In the shadow of death, Myerson, reviewing the worthwhileness of life, saw it in three dimensions: duration, satisfaction and happiness, and usefulness to others. From long-ago discussions with his father about the nature of man, he saw man as *Homo sapiens*, *Homo rationalis*, *Homo sensualis*, *Homo asceticus*, *Homo ambivalens*, *Homo toolmaker* and *word maker*, *Homo ferociens*, and *Homo gregariens*—a complex and contradictory creature, given to using reason all too sparsely.

Social psychologists may be particularly interested in the chapters on the illusion of individuality, in which the illusion is shattered, and the chapters on mind and body, in which is developed the idea that the "road from mind to body is never one way; it is a constantly repetitive and surging two-way street." As a research scientist, he deplored the tendency to worship techniques more than that which was the end of the research. The book is an excellent tribute to one who was sensitively social and who saw as the greatest single problem of human living the harmonizing of the pressures exerted by society and by the individual's drives, a way of life "in which the animal, guided by reason, may romp but will not bite."

M.J.V.

THE CONDUCT OF LIFE. By Lewis Mumford. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1951, pp. ix+342.

This is the fourth and concluding volume in a series by Mr. Mumford which began with *Technics and Civilization* (1934) and which included *The Culture of Cities* (1938) and *The Conditions of Man* (1944). The whole group of books has been summarized by the author as an effort "to deal in a unified way with man's nature, his work, his life-dramas, as revealed in the development of contemporary Western civilization." They present a philosophy of hope, of renewal of life, even in an era "suffering a succession of catastrophes."

This book is both an introduction to and a conclusion for the other three. Its tone is well illustrated in the author's discussion of Albert

Sweitzer's life, a life which shows "how deeply our own lives suffer from the passive breakdown or the active destruction of our civilization" and how amidst such widespread disintegration "it is still possible to create a plan of life based on more solid foundations and directed toward higher ends: a life more organic in structure, more personal in expression, no longer the victim of speculative nihilism and automatism." While aware that Western civilization suffers from an overcommitment to "mechanism and automatism," to "a wholesale denial of humane values and purposes," to "delusions of atomic grandeur," to "psychotic compulsions to suicide or genocide," yet the author believes that "the renewal of life is possible," but he is not too explicit in saying how life can be renewed. The author urges changes ranging all the way from "a recovery of inner autonomy" and a release from a blinding work-routine, from subjection to countless superfluities on every hand, from size of social organizations to many constructive measures, such as a multiplication of Fulbright plans whereby "the present trickle of students passing back and forth between certain parts of Europe and America" would be supplanted by "mighty streams of such students" which, "flowing back and forth along the seaways and skyways," will create an understanding and a fellowship of the young, based on common experience and common purposes carried through together. The stimuli from such common understanding "would turn world-cooperation into a working reality and in time create a true world community."

This book is too full of fertile ideas to be reviewed; it needs to be read, and more than once.

E.S.B.

PATTERN FOR INDUSTRIAL PEACE. By William Foote Whyte. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951, pp. ix+245.

This is the story of a striking change in union-management relations at the Chicago plant of what is now the Inland Steel Container Company. In 1937, when the story begins, the management of the plant was an absolute dictatorship, ruling its 600 workers by the use of fear and terror methods. A sit-down strike occurred and a union was born. In 1939 the plant was sold to the Inland Steel Company, at which time, says Professor Whyte, the company was buying "an organization shot through with discord, confusion, and bitterness." Not too much change in managerial policy occurred even then. Not until 1943 when a new president was appointed and he, in turn, selected a new vice-president and a new general factories manager did the long struggle for peace really begin. How peace was finally achieved—after a chain of slow-down

tactics, discharging of employees, recriminations, and futile attempts with negotiation procedures—is told by means of transcriptions of the bargaining procedures in 1946-47. From this case history and recording of the actual events leading from the ending of overt conflict to the beginning of cooperation, the author has drawn some general conclusions: (1) it takes time to build and maintain good relations; (2) effort must be spent by both management and unions in cultivating sentiments that enhance mutual good will; (3) imaginative leadership on both sides is essential, a leadership aware that the building "of a better way of life within industry gains the inner satisfaction of discharging one of the heaviest social responsibilities of man." Excellent analyses of incentives for production, problems of prerogatives, and the returns to both workers and management from cooperative efforts are presented. M.J.V.

CONFLICT AND CONCILIATION OF CULTURES. By Ralph Tyler Flewelling. Stockton, California: College of the Pacific Press, pp. x+106.

In this, the first series of lectures inaugurating the Tully Cleon Knoles Annual Lectures in Philosophy at the College of the Pacific, Dr. Flewelling, founder of the School of Philosophy of the University of Southern California and of *The Personalist*, presents a number of far-reaching ideas of sociological import. These ideas are given by the author in their appropriate philosophical and religious settings.

Dr. Flewelling deplors the practice of "seeking a personal peace in God without producing the fruits of peace" and without assuming any personal responsibility for a world in great human need. He describes the person "most like to God" as being the one who "most gives himself for the life of the world." He urges more prophetic leadership of the type that will "condemn unrighteousness," even in the face of possible "social disfavor, loss of position, or comforts." He deplors "the materialistic concept of reality" and emphasizes "the reality of moral and spiritual values." In the current impatience with everything except a materialistic interpretation of life, people have "unsettled the pillars of society, the framework of civilization."

The author asserts his belief in the uniqueness of each personality, for each "is a new creation, not only out of diverse sets of heredities, accidents of birth, education, environment, but also of voluntary and conscious responses." Human progress is analyzed, not in terms of a straight line, but, as in the case of a river, gathering "force behind obstructions, working silently until strong enough to overcome them, then spilling over or pushing them aside with a great rush." Further illustrations are unnecessary to make plain the social viewpoint implicit in the Personalistic philosophy as presented by its chief living expounder. E.S.B.

SOCIAL WELFARE

DIAGNOSIS AND PROCESS IN FAMILY COUNSELING. *Evolving Concepts through Practice.* By M. Robert Gomberg and Frances T. Levinson. New York: Family Service Association of America, 1951.

This book is a compilation of papers by thirteen staff workers of the Jewish Family Service of New York including case workers, supervisors, and psychiatrists. The book covers "growing concepts" in marital counseling, parent-child counseling, supervisory practices in social work, and the use of psychiatrists in these processes. At the end are two valuable papers on research and family life education. The book has the earmarks of reality about it, probably because these papers reflect critical thought about actual clinical experience.

The marriage counselor will be interested in the somewhat unique emphasis upon the necessity of understanding the sociological aspects of the family in the counseling process. Two writers stress the need to understand the "dynamic interplay" or the relationship aspects of marriage if the counselor is to do an adequate "helping" task. This relationship is held to be something "different from the sum total of their individual psychological assets and deficits." Growing out of counseling experience based within this frame of reference comes the insight of a "higher stage of development in diagnosis" which is called the "psycho-social diagnosis." On the other hand, the importance of psychological insight is not minimized.

JAMES A. PETERSON

LEADERSHIP IN RECREATION. By Gerald B. Fitzgerald. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1951, pp. xv+304.

This practical source book emphasizes the principles, techniques, tools, professional standards, and present status of recreation leadership. The author stresses that effective leadership functions primarily in relation to people rather than to activities. The interrelationships among physical education, group work, and recreation leadership are pointed out and detail information is presented on the methods of recreation leadership. The determination of interests for program planning, the organization and use of committees, the direction of club activities, the supervision of leaders and programs, and the sponsoring of recreation conferences and institutes are some of the details described.

M.H.N.

URBAN SOCIOLOGY AND THE EMERGING ATOMIC MEGALOPOLIS.

By Jesse Walter Dees, Jr. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Ann Arbor Publishers, 1950, pp. 538.

This book is a large volume, 9 by 12 inches and 1¾ inches thick. It is unwieldy to handle and some of the illustrations are so greatly reduced in size as to be almost unreadable without a magnifying glass. However, the organization of the material is stimulating and sometimes arresting.

Dr. Dees is head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Tampa, Florida, and says in the Foreword, "The author has attempted to conserve the basic concepts of urban society, but has endeavored to enlarge the scope of urbanism into the development of our emerging atomic megalopolis." Some of the chapters which seemed especially significant are the following: Chap. 8, Urban Social Structure; Chap. 9, Urban Typology; Chap. 10, Vulnerability of City Life, Danger, Noise, Strain, Poverty, and Inequality; Chap. 20, Social Planning—Make Your Community a Neighborhood, Plan Your City for at Least Fifty Years; and Chap. 24, Atomic Energy and Urban Sociology.

There are many illustrations and an Appendix, which contains a list of "Selected Readings in Urban Sociology," audio-visual aids, material on housing, and "Sociology of Metropolitan Tampa." B.A.MCC.

ENGLISH LIFE AND LEISURE. A Social Study. By B. Beebohn Rowntree and G. R. Lavers. London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company, Ltd., 1951, pp. xvi+482.

THE ENGLISH MIDDLE CLASSES. By Roy Lewis and Angus Maude. London: Phoenix House and New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949, pp. 320.

As the basis for the first book under consideration, the authors and other interviewers obtained by "a system of indirect interviewing" (p. xii) 975 case histories. Two hundred and twenty of these have been "carefully selected as being typical of the whole," (p. xiii) and have been reproduced in the book. In fact, they make up approximately one third of its 482 pages. The "case histories," which average from 150 to 200 words in length, are said to "give a reasonably accurate general impression of the philosophy of life of a majority of the people dwelling in England and Wales." (p. xiii) These brief sketches—interspersed with the interviewer's remarks, i.e., "There can be no doubt of her sexual innocence" (p. 117); "Inexperienced, but likely to make a good

wife for some lucky man" (p. 117)—may strike the social worker or research student as overly subjective, if not superficial.

The second part of the book is composed of chapters dealing with the cinema, radio, reading, gambling, drinking, dancing, sexual promiscuity, honesty, and religion. These discussions are said to be based upon the case histories; but they have the appearance of general discussions of the various topics, and the authors draw their statistics, when presented, largely from secondary sources.

The third section of the book is a report on the facilities provided for the use of leisure in High Wycombe, a "specimen town" of about 40,000 population. The last chapter in the book presents a brief but general survey of the organization and use of educational, religious, and leisure-time activities in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland.

It must be said that, despite the foregoing comments, the authors do give many insights into English life and leisure. They also directly and indirectly make a plea for greater state control in many of the areas discussed, i.e., "The only practical action for a society is to take more active steps to encourage people to spend their leisure rationally and enjoyably and to provide the means for them to do so." (p. 153) They also would like to see a revival of religion and this in a rather unique form, i.e., ". . . without any formal organization, to form themselves (the believers) into small groups, where common problems of the relevance of Christian beliefs to daily life might be worked out by cooperative effort. . . ." (p. 374) The present work neither has the basis of a fund of facts nor has it the consistent, if unsophisticated, method of the senior author's earlier work on *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*.

A second book which throws some light on life in contemporary England is *The English Middle Classes*, by Lewis and Maude. Although it is not presented as an empirical sociological study, and therefore is not subject to the same kind of criticism as is the work of Rowntree and Lavers, it nevertheless contains more sociology than does *English Life and Leisure*. The authors first thought of calling their book *The Decline and Fall of the Middle Classes*, but, they say, since it became clear that the middle classes were "kicking so hard," they concluded that they must still be alive.

The middle classes are defined broadly as including businessmen and managers, the professionals, the public servants, the farmers, and the shopkeepers and traders. After a historical introduction, each of these sections of the middle class is discussed, and the effect of recent social, economic, and political changes in the society are noted and its present

position evaluated. However, despite the broad definition of the middle classes, the major portion of the book is devoted to the upper-middle class. The authors portray a tendency to idealize this upper group, i.e., "The middle classes conserve and transmit the stored experience of the whole nation in the arts of community and statecraft." They bemoan not only its loss of leisure and servants but also its general loss of power and position in the society. However, the occurrence of these frank statements which reveal the value system of the authors indicates that Lewis and Maude have made no attempt to conceal their biases. By describing the contemporary scene as they see it, the authors have produced an honest and highly informative account of the English middle classes.

J. B. MONTAGUE, JR.

THE TEACHING OF RELIGION IN AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION. Edited by Christian Gauss. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1951, pp. v+158.

This volume is a report of a study undertaken by a committee of the National Council on Religion in Higher Education and the Edward W. Hazen Foundation. It was written by Christian Gauss, Howard B. Jefferson, J. Hillis Miller, Kenneth W. Morgan, and Robert Ulich; edited by Christian Gauss. It aims to survey the place of religion in higher education in America, the meaning of liberal education, and the teaching of religion in colleges and universities.

THESE OUR CHILDREN. By Arthur T. Collis and Vera E. Poole. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1951, pp. v+157.

This study, published in England by Victor Gollancz, Ltd., is an account of the home life and social environment of children in an industrial slum district. The investigators were primarily concerned with the problems of child neglect, juvenile delinquency, and substandard houses. It is a sordid picture of the way children live in slums. The bad effects of overcrowding, family disorganization, and the suffering growing out of a feeling of being unwanted are depicted in the excerpts taken from individual cases. The children's life in the streets, their only playgrounds, is described in detail. Delinquency and other forms of misconduct are all too common. On the brighter side, the recreative places and nursery schools tend to alleviate the suffering of some of the neglected children.

M.H.N.

PSYCHIATRIC ASPECTS OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. By L. Bovet. Palais des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland: World Health Organization, 1951, pp. 90.

This report was prepared on behalf of the World Health Organization as a contribution to the United Nations program for the prevention of crime and treatment of offenders. Although the chief emphasis is on psychiatric aspects, various sections deal with sociological aspects, including community influences.

THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF A WAR-BOOM COMMUNITY. By Robert J. Havighurst and H. Gerthron Morgan. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1951, pp. 356.

This study is an important addition to the growing list of studies of social change in communities. It is an additional illustration of the importance of attempting to evaluate the process of change. The advantage of this study of Seneca, Illinois, is that it traces the process from before the boom of 1940 through the development of "The Prairie Shipyard," and the adjustment of local institutions, to the cessation of the boom and the "Aftermath—Seneca in 1950."

In 1942 Seneca had a population of 1,235 and two years later, of 6,600. Ships were built that cost taxpayers of the U.S.A. two hundred million dollars. A total of 12,000 different people came into Seneca and later went away.

The research methodology included observations recorded on the spot by the authors and field assistants, records of public and private agencies, and interviews. Certain hypotheses underlay the study: "1. The local community will provide the nucleus and the initiative in expanding the nonmaterial services. . . . 2. Governmental and other outside agencies will take the lead in expanding the physical or material services of the community. 3. There will be misunderstanding and friction between the 'old' and 'new' elements in the community, and between the forces of stability and progress."

It is possible that the conclusions reached as evaluation of the various adjustments in Seneca was summarized will surprise no student of community life. Seneca was, according to the evaluating judges, "very little changed by the war boom except for temporary material improvements. Possibly some attitudes of civic optimism and enterprise" developed, and "the village became more progressive." However, the authors point out: ". . . the people of Seneca did not change their attitudes about public

housing or public recreation. . . . The village of Seneca played a passive, willing role; but it emerged from the boom relatively unchanged, with the familiar basic characteristics of a mid-western rural town."

B.A.MCC.

PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN GEOGRAPHY. By the late Ellsworth Huntington. Sixth Edition, a Revision by Earl B. Shaw. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1951, pp. xviii+805.

This book sets forth the "principles of geography in its human aspects" and covers such themes as man's geographical relationship, man's relation to land forms, to climate, to soil, and to man (political geography).

THE ART OF GROUP DISCIPLINE. By Rudolph M. Wittenberg. New York: Association Press, 1951, pp. 124.

The author, who earlier wrote *So You Want to Help People*, now presents a new book designed for leaders, be they teachers, ministers, camp directors, or parents. The author defines discipline as "a process of change that comes about through the group of which the individual is a part." This process is closely related to what sociologists call the process of socialization. A measure of discipline is obtained if one can take part in a group and feel free when others agree or disagree; if one can be himself and still accept other people with all their differences. A socially responsible person is one who is both free and at the same time disciplined. A distinction is made between discipline in a democracy and police state discipline. The former is freedom, the latter is compulsion.

Part One defines and illustrates the idea of discipline as a process of development in the individual, in the community, in the leader himself, and in the group. Illustrations are drawn from groups of young people in camps, settlement houses, Sunday schools, and public schools. The difficult problem of "When do we know we have discipline?" is raised and an attempt is made to describe ways of recognizing good discipline.

Part Two is devoted to suggested ways by which the process of inner discipline can be promoted. The book ends with a section appropriately entitled "Leader's Digest," which consists of brief condensations of scientific studies or authoritative opinions on statements made throughout the book. This discussion brings a new tone to the concept of discipline. It connotes fullness of expression rather than restriction; free obedience rather than forced conformity.

L. R. JUST
Tabor College

THE NEW YOU AND HEREDITY. By Amram Scheinfeld. Philadelphia and New York: J. P. Lippincott Company, 1950, pp. xxii+616.

For both laymen and students interested in the phenomena of human heredity, this newly revised and greatly augmented edition of *You and Heredity* (1939) will be received with genuine welcome. It is written with an enthusiastic sincerity which makes for interesting reading, and its scientific grip on the subject is guaranteed by the score of leading scientists and medical experts who assisted the author in preparing the materials. Included in this edition are many new topics, such as the "Rh" factor, the Lysenko theories, and the Kinsey studies of sex as well as a more extended treatment of mental diseases and defects. The social philosophy of the eugenics movement is well indicated through the author's successful attempts to point out the significance of the research findings for both the individual and society. Good judgment has been used by Scheinfeld in presenting the heredity-environment problem throughout the discussions. The book is profusely illustrated with sketches, diagrams, and actual photographic materials. There is no reason why the book cannot be adopted as a text for an introductory course in eugenics, since it contains all the necessary ingredients. M.J.V.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND PLANNING. By Arthur Hillman. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950, pp. 378.

The author in his Preface indicates the basic ideas presented in this well-organized work. He says: "Community organization is a necessary condition of conscious cooperation for local planning and for other forms of common action." The two concepts are interlocked and interrelated. In the Foreword Louis Wirth comments: "This book represents the first comprehensive endeavor that I know to treat the two together as in theory and practice they have already come to be inseparable."

The five parts develop (1) the meaning of community and community organization and the changing forms of the community; (2) the planning of communities in rural areas, small towns, and cities with a discussion of the roles of the expert and the citizen in city planning; (3) organized action in community life through community centers and community councils with emphasis upon leadership and participation; (4) functional areas of community planning in relation to services for children and youth, to social work, to recreation and race relations; and (5) procedures in community organization.

An excellent bibliography is included and in the Appendix is a list of films related both to community organization and to community

planning. The book is readable and well integrated. The material on city planning, however, seems somewhat limited. Planning as a process is stressed and basic principles in procedure are simply but convincingly stated.

B.A.MCC.

PROBATION AND RELATED MEASURES. United Nations Publications, Department of Social Affairs, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1951. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951, pp. xv+405.

ANNUAL REPORT ON CHILD AND YOUTH WELFARE. United Nations Publications, Department of Social Affairs, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1951. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951, pp. 191.

The volume on probation is a comprehensive report on the origins, development, and spread of probation and related measures; probation in the United States, United Kingdom, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, and the Netherlands; and the countries of probation, including organization, supervision, personnel, and procedures. It is one of the most concise reports of both the development and the present-day practices of probation, and the relationship between probation and other measures involving the conditional suspension of punishment.

The study of child and youth welfare contains summaries of annual reports from thirty different countries.

M.H.N.

PREPARING FOR MARRIAGE. A Guide to Marital and Sexual Adjustment. By Dr. Clifford R. Adams. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1951, pp. 256.

This is a revised edition of Adams' 1946 book, *How to Pick a Mate*, with some new research material as well as some new considerations of adjustment processes added to the earlier work. Its chief merits are its readability and its stimulation of self-appraisal on the part of the reader. These are accomplished by innumerable questions following each chapter, and sometimes in the body of the chapter, by which the reader may assess his maturity-readiness for marriage.

These questions raise one of the fundamental problems regarding this type of approach to marriage adjustment. Is it possible for the average individual to understand and evaluate the subtle and deep-rooted attitudes with which he approaches these areas of interaction? Will not the young person "romantically" in love tend to answer all of the questions affirmatively, while an insecure individual may tend to answer most of them negatively? Does such a listing of questions uncoupled with a case-study approach enable anyone to achieve helpful insight into his personality configuration or that of a possible mate? For instance, some psy-

chometrists may be startled to discover that on page 163 Dr. Adams lists three questions—dealing with making friends, holding a job, and loving tenderly—by which the reader can determine whether or not he is neurotic. If the reader answers no to two of these questions he is advised to seek professional help. This is undoubtedly the shortest and most facile personality inventory yet discovered. The author needs to be more specific regarding the sources of some of his surprising material.

JAMES A. PETERSON

SOCIAL PROBLEMS. By Carl M. Rosenquist. Fifth Edition. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951, pp. 519.

The fact that this book has had five printings since it was first published in 1940 indicates its wide usage and definite merit. It covers such problems as those represented by the family; the community, both rural and urban; economic life; social welfare; personality; and race relations. It needs to be enlarged at several points.

E.S.B.

PEOPLES AND CULTURE

THE EDUCATION OF THE MEXICAN NATION. By George F. Kneller. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951, pp. 258.

This excellent book fills a definite need in that it is the first comprehensive work on education in Mexico. The volume is more than a description of the country's school system. It is a well-documented, cultural history of Mexico. The subject of education is treated as a total concept of culture rather than as an isolated phenomenon.

The influence of the period of Spanish rule, the influence of the Catholic Church, the decline of religious control in the people's struggle for a universal practical education, and the place of European educational philosophy are each given full treatment. The more recent influences coming from the United States are of special interest.

The author presents a vivid picture of the cultural background and historical development of Mexico along political, social, and economic lines. He shows that the education of the past will no longer serve this nation, and concludes that Mexico's hope lies in a practical, active educational program based on the fundamental social and economic needs of the people of Mexico.

FLOYD A. POLLOCK

Stephen F. Austin State College

THE AMERICAN AS REFORMER. By Arthur M. Schlesinger. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1950, pp. xii+127.

In some respects Great Britain, Germany, and other European countries have been exporters of ideas and philosophies which have influenced the United States and other countries that have been reciprocally related. Mr. Schlesinger, however, points out that until very recent times the United States has set the pace for the world in reform zeal.

Free from European obstacles and traditions and motivated by unique political institutions and goals, America has pioneered the extension of suffrage, liberty of the press, separation of church and state, peace, prison reform, and public education. Although there has been resistance to change in America (as is characteristic in all societies), the author shows that the reform spirit has been a vital ingredient in the development of American democracy.

In this volume of lectures, delivered at Pomona College in the spring of 1950, one may gain unique insight into American psychology and historical national trends.

J.E.N.

THE UPROOTED. *The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People.* By Oscar Handlin. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1951, pp. 310.

In this work a historian turns social psychologist and through a remarkably complete exercise of empathy gives a truly epic account of what went on in the immigrant's feelings and in his thinking when he pulled up stakes in his home village and set out for that unknown region America. It is the reactions of the average immigrant, not of the most fortunate or of the least, which the author aims to reveal. The harsh economic conditions produce reactions of feelings which are major factors in bringing the European peasant to the difficult decision of breaking strong ties in order to try the unknown but promising rigors of a distant and uncertain land. Then comes a second flood of emotional upheavals when the immigrant contends, often hopelessly, with the various harsh conditions of travel to a port and the pent-up and often sickening conditions of the steerage. There is a third surge of frustrated feelings when the immigrant tries to find employment in America, only to discover that he may not be wanted or, if wanted, he is to work at previously unheard-of tasks on railroads, in factories, in steel mills, in mines. Living conditions in a corner of a six-story tenement or in an isolated prairie house offset high wages, which are often lost in increased costs of living.

A fourth emotional discharge results from the realization which comes sooner or later that the satisfactions obtained in the old village life and in the former family life with all its village ties are gone forever. Moreover, the idea that the immigrant is to become "assimilated" to a way of life which, as he often experiences it, seems to be a kind of speeded-up emptiness, produces another flood of emotional reactions. Altogether too often the immigrant finds himself a marginal person who has lost his old ties and who feels that he is a stranger and a person apart from the new life and culture in which he lives.

The book has to be read to be appreciated. Without dealing in specific heartbreaking experiences, it reveals the pathos of giving all and of suffering frustration when the hoped-for proves full of disappointment and of inadequate new opportunities.

E.S.B.

RACE PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION. Edited by Arnold M. Rose. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1951, pp. 604.

Professor Rose of the University of Minnesota has brought together fifty-eight carefully selected readings on intergroup conflict. He has organized the readings around the following headings: (1) minority problems in the United States, (2) kinds of discrimination, (3) group identification and the minority community, (4) perceptions of the minority and the causes of prejudice, and (5) proposed techniques for eliminating minority problems.

This collection of readings is exceptionally well chosen in terms of authoritativeness and readability. Instructors will be able to use this book of readings without a supplemental text because of its superior organization of the principal problems in intergroup relations. Rose has done a real service for students of ethnic relations.

E.C.M.

RELIGION AMONG THE PRIMITIVES. By William J. Goode. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, pp. xi+321.

The problem of what religion does to human society is vividly presented in this analysis of religious behavior, the structure of religious systems, and the relation of religion to economic and political action and to the family. The author traces the involved ways in which religion supports, subverts, and changes human action in many areas of human

life. He prefers the term *primitive* to *nonliterate* in describing the selected societies. The religious systems and influences of five separate societies are analyzed and used for illustrative purposes. These are the Dahomey in West Africa; the Manus, who live off the shores of Great Admiralty Island and are a Melanesian group; the Tikopia on an isolated island in the Solomon Islands Protectorate in the Western Polynesian area; the Murngin in East Arnhem Land in Northeastern Australia; and the Zuñi, a Pueblo society in the Southwestern United States. In view of the present neglect of the place of religion in society by many scientists, this book directs attention to the fact that no society can be fully understood without a consideration of the religious system.

M.H.N.

THE GENTLEMAN AND THE JEW. By Maurice Samuel. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1950, pp. 325.

Though this volume is the work of a novelist and is controversial and frequently contentious, it will be of much interest to the sociologist who is concerned with culture, social philosophy, or social ideals. It is, as the author repeatedly writes, a quasi autobiography of his own ideological maturation. It is not, of course, scientific sociology but rather a case history. It illustrates the extent to which sociological concepts and points of view are penetrating into general discussion.

Mr. Samuel proposes a number of hypotheses that may well repay the careful attention of social researchers and social theorists. A central theme is that competition, once a valuable process, in modern times—whether in business or in athletic sports—has become pathological in many of its forms and sponsors a scheme of values that are destructive of sound social order. In particular, competition is responsible for the appearance of the courtier, the gentleman, and similar idealizations of the cultured successful rival. In current usage these folk are represented by the “success-hunters,” that is, the “power-hunters,” who are “primarily concerned with personal self-advancement” and are men “on-the-make.”

“The gentleman is the noblest ideal of man possible in a society that immorally accepts competition and rivalry as the basis of life. For the acceptance of this view is an initial denial of the validity of goodness; it is . . . the contradiction of the prophetic and Christian (or at any [rate]) Christ morality. Gentlemanliness is a device of the spirit for being immoral without losing one’s self-respect; or rather, a device for

heightening one's self-respect while being immoral." (p. 51) Hence, he says, the expression "Christian gentleman" is a self-contradiction; one may be either a Christian or a gentleman but not both. The gentleman, he contends, is, in reality, basically a warrior, a killer, for whom the gravest defect would be cowardice. The gentleman is the flower of paganism and competitive sports are expressions of paganism in direct opposition to the ethical principles of both Jew and Christian. For the author, the only conceivable moral basis for the social order is cooperation and not competition. In fact, "we have reached that stage in the control of nature at which the continuation of the struggle between groups means the destruction of the species as a whole." (p. 321) "The issue lies between the cooperative and the competitive interpretations of life, between essential Christianity and its matrix and ally, Judaism, on the one hand, and paganism, open or concealed, on the other." (p. 300)

In the same spirit the author attacks the ideology underlying Zionism and its product, the new Jewish nation, Israel. For Israel is apt to become just another small standardized nation in which Jewish culture will find retreat and probably preservation. Judaism may thereby preserve itself but is in danger of losing its historic role of affording society at large with "a consistent multimillennial aversion to paganism." (p. 148) This role was not "rendered superfluous by the advent of Christianity."

The author, therefore, having himself earlier embraced them, now vigorously rejects and challenges rationalism, materialism, mechanism, and nationalism. His scholarship and erudition are tremendous; his style vivid, persuasive, and frequently witty. The title of the book, unfortunately, is mystifying and forbidding.

E.F.Y.

YOUNG COMMUNISTS IN THE USSR. Translated by Virginia Rhine. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1950, pp. 92.

This documentary monograph, included in the Current Soviet Thought Series, describes the demands made upon members of the Kom-somol Organization. Among the requirements are a boundless devotion to the socialist motherland, self-sacrificing labor, and unceasing study of Marxist-Leninist science, a daily effort to acquire learning and culture within the Soviet pattern, and a complete observance of the rules of socialist society as set forth in the Stalin Constitution.

Significant elements in communistic education, ethics, morality, and rules of conduct as taught to the Soviet youth are cleverly contrasted

with arbitrary interpretations and slurs against other cultural systems. Thus, the regimentation in socialist behavior is made to appear ideologically superior and beautiful. What is expedient for the Soviet system determines every factor in the training of the youth in Russia; truth is utterly disregarded.

J.E.N.

INTER-CASTE TENSIONS. A Survey under the Auspices of the UNESCO.
By Radhakamal Mukerjee and Associates. Lucknow, India: University of Lucknow, 1951, pp. 108.

In this interesting and significant piece of research a great deal of concrete data is given concerning the rules characteristic of the caste system in India. The research was conducted in half a dozen villages in different areas and, for comparative purposes, in the city of Kanpur. In the villages 250 questionnaires were filled out by the interview method; 125 questionnaires were filled out in Kanpur. In both studies a number of different castes from the highest to the lowest were sampled.

Considerable emphasis is placed on social distance, which is treated as being multidimensional, with caste and class constituting the two major dimensions. Caste distance is based on the nature of work that is done, and class represents economic resources. Each caste has a "caste personality" which is "shared in large measure with all persons belonging to the same or similar caste in the social hierarchy."

A number of aspects of caste tensions were found. For example, such tension arises when the members of a lower caste try "to give up unclean and disagreeable jobs of low status" and begin to compete for jobs with the members of a higher caste. Thus, resentment and hostility are aroused in the superior caste and aggressiveness in the "inferior frustrated groups."

Dr. Mukerjee and his associates found that a definite breakdown is occurring in caste lines, for instance, through the rise of the trade union movement and through industrial housing developments. On the other hand, caste distinctions are still strong, and eight different degrees of untouchability are noted in the following order: (1) sitting on a common floor, (2) interdining, (3) admittance into kitchens, (4) touching metal pots, (5) touching earthen pots, (6) mixing in social festivals, (7) entering the interior of houses, and (8) physical contact.

E.S.B.

SOCIAL FICTION

THE CRUEL SEA. A Novel by Nicholas Monsarrat. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1951, pp. 510.

Those who have forgotten how agonizing and gruesome wars can be might well refresh their memories by reading this narrative. It is a momentous and thrilling account of the gallant men who manned the escort convoys across the North Atlantic during the Second World War. More specifically, it is the story of two corvettes—*Compass Rose* and her successor, *Saltash*—the men who were on them, the cruel sea, the German wolf packs, and the women left behind. Novelist Monsarrat, who served during the war on one of the numerous British corvettes, packs his tale with thrilling adventure, stirring scenes of men at the height of glory and in the depths of despair, and action filled with enough suspense to stiffen any spine.

Compass Rose is placed in charge of Lieutenant-Commander Ericson, an old sea dog whose matchless courage and understanding of men make him as picturesque as a Nelson. His crew comprises some outstanding men such as Sub-Lieutenant Lockhart, Chief Engineer Watts, Sub-Lieutenant Morrell, and others who play their roles with vigor. The sea scenes are sometimes filled with humor, sometimes with horror: men struggling in the sea, surfaced with oil ablaze, and brave men attempting to rescue them, men intently listening for the sounds of the submarines lying in wait for the convoys, men in desperate straits attempting to withstand the angry sea—all of them in the midst of the terrible battle of the North Atlantic.

Romances are not lacking. Nearly all of the men have left women on the shore back home. Some are faithful, some are not. Outstanding is the major love note, the romance between Lockhart and Julie Hallam, a tale beautifully told but ending in tragedy. And then there is poor old Watts, who on shore leave comes back to a little village where he hopes to ask Gladys to marry him, only to find that she has been killed in a bombing raid. "You come in from the sea, feeling real glad to get back, and then you go home and find that people you thought were alive and happy, were really dead and buried while you were still two days out. . . ." Such are the heartaches of war. But the story of the men and of what the sea can do to them is the thing that leaves a lasting impression.

M.J.V.